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Vol XX No 1

The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



Bibliography of Shaksperiana for 1944

Index of Names and Subjects in the
1944 Bibliography

Who is I. K.?

The 'Broom groves' in *The Tempest*

A Note on the 'Late Felipses' in *King Lear*

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The Shakespeare Association of America aims to unite all the lovers of the poet and to encourage and enlarge the widespread interest in his works. It will serve as a means of communication in the Shakesperian world, reporting what is being done in his honor or service, whether on the stage or in the school-room, in club or in university. Its purpose includes co-operation in every enterprise that will be helpful to a knowledge of the man and his works, whether scholarly, educational, or theatrical.

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Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary.

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1944)

Compiled by

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

and

DOROTHY R. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books in the N. Y. Public Library and in the library of Columbia University, is a continuation of those published in the January issues of this Bulletin for some years past. Only those items have been listed which we thought contributed a new idea or a new fact. The names of female writers, if known, are distinguished by a colon after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year of publication is mentioned in connection with an item, 1944 is to be understood. The discussion of a book, as opposed to an edition, is indicated by printing the title within single quotes and omitting 'ed' after the contributor's name. The following abbreviations have been employed:

Amer	—American	M	Magazine
Archiv	—Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen	MLN	Modern Language Notes
B	—Bulletin	MLQ	Modern Language Quarterly
Bei	—Beiblatt zur Anglia	MLR	Modern Language Review
bib	—bibliography	MP	Modern Philology
Bll	—Blätter	NQ	Notes & Queries
Bn	—Boston	OUP	Oxford University Press
comp	—compiler	Oxf	Oxford
CUP	—Cambridge University Press	P	Press
d	—der, die, das, dem, &c.	PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n of America
DNS	—Die neueren Sprachen	port(s)	portrait(s)
dt	—deutsch, &c.	p.p.	privately printed
ed(d)	—editor(s)	PQ	Philological Quarterly
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History	Pr	Proceedings
Elizn.	—Elizabethan	Q	Quarterly
Engl	—English, englische, &c.	R	Review, Revue
ES	—Englische Studien	Repr	Reprinted, reprints
fac(s)	—facsimile(s)	RES	Review of English Studies
fr	—from	S & N	Statesman & Nation
GR	—Germanic Review	SAB	Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
Hist	—History, Historie, Histoire	Sh	Shakespeare, Shakspeare, &c.
HLQ	—Huntington Library Quarterly	Shn	Shaksperian
HUP	—Harvard University Press	SJ	Shakespeare Jahrbuch
il(s)	—illustration(s)	SP	Studies in Philology
J	—Journal	TAM	Theatre Arts Monthly
JEGP	—Journal of English & Germanic Philology	TLS	Times Literary Supplement
JHI	—Journal of the History of Ideas	trn	translation
Lang	—Language	u	und
Libr	—Library	U	University
Lit	—Literature	UP	University Press
Ln	—London		

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5. K. R. Wallace's *F.B. on Communication & Rhetoric*.—R. H. Wagner; JEGP, 43: 366-68, July.—A. T. Shillinglaw; Mind, 53: 367-71, Oct.—F. R. Johnson; MLN, 59: 505-07, Nov.

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9. The importance of the 'word cypher.'—C. Beaumont.—Baconiana, 28: 39-47; Apr., pl.
10. Some Sh doubts.—J. S. L. Millar.—Baconiana, 28: 48-55, Apr.
11. It doesn't matter who wrote the plays.—A. Hadman.—Baconiana, 28: 56-61, Apr.
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15. Bacon, Sh, & Nashe.—W. S. Mel-some.—Baconiana, 28: 9-15, Jan.
16. The birth of the name 'Shake-spear.'—V. Bayley.—Baconiana, 28: 16-18, Jan.

17. Allusions & allegories.—A. A. Leith.—Baconiana, 28: 18-21, Jan.
18. Will Sh of Stratford.—A. Dodd.—Baconiana, 28: 25-29, Jan.
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21. Sh as a gardener.—R. L. Eagle.—Baconiana, 28: 103-07, July.
22. The Baconian mysteries.—P. Pigott.—Rosicrucian Digest, 22: 96-98 & 108, Apr.
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27. Authorship of *Don Quixote*.—E. D. Johnson.—Baconiana, 28: 155-56, Oct.
28. Some character names in Sh's plays.—E. T. Clark.—Sh Fellowship Q, 5: 41-43, July.
29. The Stratford defendant compromised by his advocates.—L. Benezet.—Sh Fellowship Q, 5: 44-46, July.
30. The frauds & stealths of injurious impostors.—L. P. Benezet.—Sh Fellowship Q, 5: 2-6, Jan.
31. A biblical reference to F. Bacon.—E. G. Rose.—Baconiana, 28: 146-49, Oct., facs.

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 42. *We [Poor] Shadows*.—Countess Hermynia zu Mühlen.—MND, V, ii, 54.
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 44. *[The] Hollow Men*.—B. Hutchison.—JC, IV, ii, 23.
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- 86a. Sh.—H. Peyre.—Writers & Their Critics (Ithaca) see index.

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WHO IS E.K.?

By DR. RAYMOND JENKINS

(Part II)

IF one assumes that the publication of the *Calendar* was a clever bit of self-advertising on Spenser's part, one must then inquire as to his purposes in editing his work under the pseudonym E.K. Craik presents the main advantage: "No one would know so well as the poet himself in all cases what to disclose and what to withhold, and he would perhaps be more likely therefore to perform the office himself than to intrust it to any friend."²⁸ Could any editor, however intimate with the poet, know so well as the poet himself what to reveal and what to conceal? The anonymity of E.K. enabled the poet to be forthright in expressing some of his convictions. The letter of E.K. to Harvey, for instance, seems virtually what Spenser would say in defending the archaism of the *Calendar*. The editorial apparatus of E.K. also enabled Spenser to give utterance to his convictions regarding the high ends of poetry. So closely, in fact, does the literary theory of the *Calendar* correspond with Spenser's known position that virtually every editor who assumes that E.K. was a living friend of Spenser admits that Spenser was frequently at E.K.'s elbow, and that Spenser alone could have written some notes of the Gloss.

But the mask of E.K. also enabled Spenser to leave much unexplained. Much that is hidden merely mystifies and piques the curiosity of the reader. Other concealments or affectations of ignorance were apparently devised to protect the poet. To conceal the sources of the eclogues, for example, was a device to lead the reader a merry chase, for only readers who "be wel sented can trace him out."²⁹ To feign ignorance regarding the object of the poet's attack on abuses in church or court was necessary to protect the poet from fine or imprisonment, for it is obvious that Spenser is often shooting at big game. The pseudonym enabled the poet to intimate that an offensive passage was merely aimed at common abuses, or that it concerned a convenient scapegoat. The mask also enabled Spenser either to be wisely silent or

to disclaim all satiric intention by affecting ignorance. Spenser could not afford to offend the queen; therefore, in dealing with Grindal, as Professor Herford admits, E.K. was discreet and silent with a purpose. Knowing that Spenser's ecclesiastical position, as Professor Judson has pointed out,³⁰ was identical with that of Young and Grindal, we are warranted in assuming that some few of E.K.'s references to Roman Catholics are a blind, that the attacks in the ecclesiastical eclogues are directed not merely against Jesuits but also against dignitaries of the Anglo-Catholic Church. The feigned ignorance of E.K., in fact, is precisely what one would expect if Spenser were E.K. and if he were doing his utmost to cover his tracks.

Professor Dodge, the editor of Spenser's complete works, says that E.K. has in several places plainly misunderstood the text. This misleading statement requires much qualification. One may, indeed, aver that E.K. never misunderstands the text unless the misunderstanding is so trivial as to be an oversight or so gross as to be unquestionably deliberate. For E.K.'s ignorance of the obvious is too fatuous to be real. Consider, for instance, E.K.'s apparent ignorance of the persons involved in *September*, the tale of Roffy and Lowder: "This tale of Roffy seemeth to coloure some particular action of his. But what, I certeinlye know not." Knowing as we do that Roffy was John Young, the Bishop of Rochester, and that Spenser was his secretary, can we doubt that the events recounted in this eclogue took place under Spenser's very nose? Can we not be certain that E.K. was deliberately feigning ignorance? Is it not remarkable that E.K. always conceals what Spenser would consider it discreet and politic to conceal?

By the mask of E.K., Spenser is not only exhibiting his fondness for pseudonyms, such as Immerito and Colin Clout, but he is also exhibiting his ingenuity in carrying out a pre-determined and consistent dramatic role. For if the poet wished to conceal the fact that he was the writer of the Gloss, would he not, as an artist, do his utmost to make the illusion complete? Spenser therefore endeavors to individualize E.K., to give him a separate personality. And he has succeeded so well that Professor Renwick, the latest

editor of the *Calendar* feels, he says, "the contact of a different, a less flexible mind."⁸¹

How would Spenser make E.K. appear to be a definite personality? Obviously he would try to make it clear that E.K. acquired much information from the poet himself, but that E.K. was responsible for the ideas of the Gloss and that he was writing independently. E.K.'s notes therefore must be made to appear those which a well-informed and educated editor would write; occasionally they would exhibit apparent ignorance of the poet's intention and would appear to differ from the poet's expressed belief or practice. Now what does E.K. do?

E.K. feigns to be a close and intimate friend. He edits the poem instead of the poet because the poet himself is for a "long time furre estraunged." This device of implying that Spenser was away from London and that he therefore could not write the notes is only one of the blinds of E.K., which fail to square with the facts of Spenser's life as we know them. In its revelations and in its blind spots, the commentary of E.K. is deftly graduated to his editorial role. One would not, for instance, expect E.K. to know the precise pastoral poem that Spenser is imitating; and frequently he appears to be very ignorant. E.K. declares in the epistle to Harvey that Spenser's sources are the main pastoral writers and divers Italian and French poets. But he usually cites Theocritus or Virgil instead of Mantuan or Marot. Mantuan is Spenser's model in *October*, Mantuan and Marot in *November*, and Marot in *December*, yet E.K. intimates that Theocritus and Virgil are the prime sources.⁸² The choice of Spenser's pastoral name Colin Clout was obviously suggested to him by Skelton's *Colin Cloute*, the poem in which Skelton satirized the court of Henry VIII. Yet E.K. must appear to know little about Skelton; he merely remarks: "yet have I sene a Poesie of M. Skelton under that title." Also, in identifying the pastoral characters, E.K. either assumes that the reader knows or he professes unconscionable ignorance. He assumes that Rosalind is well-known, yet no one has ever been able to establish her identity. But in *November* he writes of Dido: "The personage is secrete, and to me altogether unknowne, albe

of himself [the author] I often required the same." Again, in the gloss of *November* he writes of Roffy, who is John Young, the Bishop of Rochester: "The person both of the shepherde and of Dido is unknowen, and closely buried in the author's conceipt." E.K., in fact, would have it appear that he knows less about Roffy than about the eclogues of Marot. The gloss of *September* identifies Roffy as "The name of a shepherde in Marot his Aiglogue of Robin and the Kine." Even in this reference to Marot, as Renwick points out, E.K.'s memory is playing him false, for "Marot's Roffy is mentioned not in the *Eclogue au Roy* but in the *Complainct de Madame Loyse de Savoye*."

But are not many of these notes in which E.K. feigns ignorance palpable blinds? If E.K. were such a close friend of Spenser, could he have avoided knowing about Spenser's relations with Dr. John Young, the Bishop of Rochester, who was at this time his employer, his friend, and patron? Of such blatant ignorance of E.K., Renwick in his *Commentary* writes: "Perhaps he [E.K.] was telling the truth—though commentators always assume he was lying when his statements do not suit their preconceptions." But might not the skeptical reader of the Gloss rejoin that it seems unlikely that E.K. would be informed about the unpublished works of Harvey as well as minutiae of the author's poetry and yet so naively ignorant of biographical facts which would have been common knowledge to an intimate friend of Spenser? How can the student of the *Calender* avoid assuming that these gross professions of ignorance are merely adapted to E.K.'s editorial role? Are not these remarks of E.K., like the profession of ignorance in the General Argument: "A few onely [eclogues] except whose special purpose I am not privie to", mere canards to conceal his identity?

E.K.'s feigning of ignorance enables Spenser to safeguard himself by plausible, though inadequate, interpretations. In the ecclesiastical eclogue of *May*, for instance, E.K. tells us that the kid is the simple and true Christian, the kid's dame is Christ, and the fox the false and faithless Papists. Superficially, this interpretation seems acceptable. But is it not likely that Spenser, if he could have spoken

out, would have given a more significant rendering of the allegory? Would he not have identified the kid with the young Anglican Church, the dame with mother England, and the fox with the intriguing Anglo-Catholic clergy with Roman leanings? Though the satire was so direct that worldly-wise readers could take intense pleasure in the poet's exposure of ecclesiastical abuses, the mask of E.K. enabled Spenser to give such an innocuous and general interpretation in the Gloss that even those whom the poet inveighed against either would not or could not afford to take offense.

Both Renwick and Herford have argued that E.K.'s depreciation of Marot supports their position that E.K. is not Spenser. In the gloss of *January* E.K. writes: "The word Colin is French and used of the French poete Marot (if he be worthy of the name of a Poete)" and in *November* E.K. declares the poetry of this eclogue "farre passing his [Marot's] reache." Both Herford and Renwick think that gentle Spenser, even in the guise of E.K., would never have been so ungracious. Besides, the argument runs, is it not anomalous that E.K. should speak so slightly and yet the poet should take Marot as a model in several eclogues? Renwick and Herford would admit, of course, that E.K. is also inconsistent since he includes Marot among the famous poets in the epistle to Harvey. But there are some good reasons for Spenser's depreciation through the dramatic role of E.K. As E.K., Spenser can afford to exalt Harvey and himself at the expense of Marot. Also, since he does not wish to advertise his great debt, he can either not refer at all to the pastoral that he is imitating, or he can make his references so off-hand as to give the impression that his debt is slight. Through E.K., Spenser can also express his actual opinion of his own poetry. His praise of the poetic quality of *November*, "farre passing his [Marot's] reache, and in myne opinion all other Eglogues of this booke," appears to be the poet's earnest conviction. Renwick's charge, moreover, that "such ungraciousness is hardly likely from Spenser himself" is beside the point.³⁸ No Englishman in 1579 would incur the charge of discourtesy, or lower himself in the esteem of Protestant readers, by depreciation of Marot. Englishmen were still mindful of the horror of the massacre of St. Bartholomew; they would not object to dispraise of the turncoat Marot, because his memory was still odious.

The affected distaste of E.K. for alliteration is again an indication that the poet is playing up to a dramatic role, despite the fact that Dr. Herford has interpreted it as an argument for the separate identity of E.K. In his *Letter-book*³⁴ Harvey also makes fun of those who hunt the letter, but his poetry is replete with alliteration. This affected condemnation of E.K. occurs in the gloss of *October* under *lofty love*: "I think this playing with the letter to be rather a fault than a figure, as well in our English tongue, as it hath bene alwayes in the Latine, called Cacozelon." Fond of parading his learning, E.K. mocks alliteration for the same reason that he would 'sorne and spue out the rake-hellye route of our ragged rymers'.³⁵ This alliterative jibe indicates that E.K., like Spenser, would condemn the "rake-hellye route" not so much for their alliteration as for their lack of learning, their failure to write lines which were "well grounded, finely framed and strongly trussed up together."³⁶ All of the compositions of E.K., like the prose of Spenser, bear the stamp of the confirmed alliterator. Consider the dedication of the letter to Harvey: "his verie special and singular good frend E.K. commendeth the good lyking of this his labour and the patronage of the new Poete." Note the hunting of the letter in the Argument of *February*: "Then in our bodies there is a dry and withering cold, which congealeth the crudled blood, and frieseth the weatherbeaten flesh with stormes of Fortune, & hoare frosts of care." Note likewise the Argument in *May*: "he telleth a tale of the Foxe, that by such a counterpoynt of craftiness deceived and devoured the credulous Kidde."

The anomalies of the *Calendar* with respect to E.K.'s depreciation of Marot and his feigned distaste for alliteration are easily explained if we assume that the poet is writing under the pseudonym E.K. These apparent inconsistencies in the positions of Spenser and E.K. constitute no tangible support for the view of Professors Herford and Renwick that E.K. and Spenser are separate personalities. But there is one instance of misinterpretation of E.K.'s Gloss in the editions of Herford and Renwick. It arises from the fact that each thought that E.K. was actually a friend of Spenser. In the *July* eclogue E.K. glosses *Our*

Ladyes bowre as "a place of pleasure so called." Now *July* is an ecclesiastical eclogue whose earthly setting, where it is not Arcadian, is Kent. In his "Biographical Sketch of John Young, Bishop of Rochester", Dr. A. C. Judson says: "Among students of Spenser, the conviction is steadily growing that the *Calender* was composed largely, and perhaps entirely, during Spenser's service with Young. No fewer than seven of the eclogues contain passages that seem to connect their composition with this period."³⁷ Young's episcopal seat in Kent during this period was not at Rochester but at Bromley. Hence for "our Ladyes bowre," the "place of pleasure" of E.K., one would look to Bromley, and one would tend to identify it with the "St. Brigets bowre" of which

All Kent can rightly boaste.

Dr. Leicester Bradner thinks "our Ladyes bowre" is the famous shrine in the Bishop's park at Bromley known as St. Blaze's Well.³⁸ And this identification seems entirely acceptable. But Professor Herford annotates E.K.'s note on *Our Ladyes Bowre* as "a plain misunderstanding" and says: "Spenser means Mantuan's Laureta, the House of the Virgin at Loretto, a renowned shrine and the scene of many miracles." Professor Renwick writes: "This is Mantuan's Laureta, the Holy House of Loretto, in spite of E.K.'s note." Even though Dr. Renwick admits that Spenser departs from Mantuan and "naturalizes when he can", both he and Dr. Herford were so obsessed with Spenser's imitation of Mantuan that they looked to an Italian rather than an English setting for an identification of "our Ladyes bowre," whereas both Spenser and E.K. were thinking of an English shrine, probably St. Blaze's Well in the Bishop's Park at Bromley.

Though this misinterpretation is noteworthy, Dr. D. T. Starnes in "E.K.'s Allusions Reconsidered"³⁹ has shown that modern editors of the *Calender* have misled readers in citing only the ultimate classical sources of the Gloss of E.K. Dr. Starnes has proved that E.K. virtually copied his accounts of many myths from contemporary works of reference. He has shown, for instance, that E.K. for the notes on *Flora* (March 16), *Latonaes seede* (April 86-7), *The*

Graces (April 100), *Gloris* (April 122), *Geaunte* (May 142), *Who Ida Paris* (July 146), and *Argus* (July 159) copied almost verbatim the entries in the *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (1565) of Bishop Thomas Cooper. For the note on *Maias bowre* (March 17) E.K. consulted the dictionary of Robert and Charles Stephanus;⁴⁰ for the notes on *Wild Yvie* (October 133) and *Melpomene* (November 53), he probably took over the accounts in Friar Calepine's dictionary. For the note on *Calliope* (April 100) E.K. seems to have read both Calepine and Cooper. Though E.K. may have read other works of reference, Dr. Starnes has demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that E.K. "had frequent resort to contemporary dictionaries" and that he is heavily indebted to Bishop Cooper's *Thesaurus*.

But this fact is not startling; nor does it prove that E.K. is Spenser. But two observations by Dr. Starnes make for the identity of E.K. and Spenser. The first is that "the conceptions given by E.K. in his glosses on *Flora*, *Niobe*, *Atlas*, the *Graces* seem to persist in the *Faerie Queene*."⁴¹ This fact, together with the duplication of errors, misconceptions, and stories of E.K. in the poetry of Spenser, I shall demonstrate anon. But the second observation is significant. Dr. Starnes believes that these lines of *October*

Who ever casts to compasse weightye prise,
And thinkes to throwe out thondering words of threate,
Let powre in lavish cups and thriftie bitts of meate,
For Bacchus fruite is frend to Phoebus wise;
And when with Wine the braine begins to sweate,
The numbers flowe as fast as spring doth ryse.

were inspired by this entry under *Bacchus* in Charles Stephanus' *Dictionarium*: . . . Hunc [Bacchum] Musarum comitem censurerunt: quia vini calor excitet ingenium: nam & disertos & audaces, & fortes faciunt vini meracioris pocula, teste Horatio,

Faecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
Idem & nudus & semper iuuenis habitus est,

quod arcana effutiant facile vino madidi.

Now E.K., Dr. Starnes believes, did not go to Horace

but derived his note "*lavish cups* Resembleth that comen verse Faecundi calices quem non facere disertum" from the same entry in Stephanus. Dr. Starnes thinks that Spenser's "lavish cups" was inspired by "meracioris pocula" or "Faecundi calices", and that

And when with Wine the braine begins to sweate,
The numbers flowe as fast as spring doth ryse,

by "*arcana effutiant facile vino madidi.*" If one accepts the view that this is an instance of first-hand inspiration of Spenser as well as the view that Stephanus was a first-hand source for E.K., the probability then appears strong that Spenser and E.K. were identical. It seems unlikely that poet and commentator, if they were different persons, would be definitely inspired by the same account in a Latin dictionary.

In his edition of the *Calender* Professor Renwick says he believes that *July* and *October* show that Spenser had his Mantuan with the gloss of Badius by him as he wrote. Renwick's *Commentary* likewise indicates not only that Mantuan was a source for Spenser but also that the comment of Badius on Mantuan was a source for both Spenser and E.K. Though E.K. in his gloss to *July* does not refer to Mantuan at all, Renwick points out that *July* is an imitation of Mantuan's seventh and eighth eclogues. Renwick thinks that three of E.K.'s notes on *July*—the long notes on *Whom Ida, A Lasse, and His Name*—"almost reproduce the note of Badius on the place in Mantuan".⁴² Of the lines in *October*:

So praysen babes the Peacocks spotted traine,
And wondren at bright Argus blazing eye:

Renwick writes: "this couplet shows that Spenser had his Mantuan by him as he wrote, since it comes from Juvenal vii, 30-32, which Badius quotes in his gloss on line 5 of Mantuan's eclogue:

Spes nulla ulterior; didicet nam dives avarus
Tantum admirari, tantum laudare disertos
Ut pueri Iunonis avem.

id est, pavonem admirantur et laudant: qui laudato nihil

porrigunt.⁴³ Is it not strange, if one accepts the view that Spenser and E.K. are two persons, that a commentator on Mantuan should be a source for both Spenser and E.K.?

Besides these evidences of common inspiration of both Spenser and E.K. by contemporary dictionaries and by the gloss of Badius on Mantuan, there are several passages in the Spenser-Harvey Letters which indicate that E.K. was so familiar with Spenser's inmost thoughts that he was verily Spenser's second self. In the letter dated at the end October 5, 1579, Spenser writes: "Maister E.K. hartily desireth to be commended vnto your Worshippe: of whome, what accompte he maketh, youre selfe shall hereafter perceiue, by hys paynefull and dutifull Verses of your selfe." These "paynefull and dutifull Verses," in the opinion of Craik,⁴⁴ may be the long Latin poem addressed to Harvey by Spenser under the pseudonym Immerito, and, supposedly, transmitted to Harvey in the same letter. Now, these "wittie, familiar letters," whose "Wellwiller" was "made acquainted with . . . at the fourthe or fifte hande . . . by meanes of a faithfull friende who with muche entreaty had procured the copying of them oute, at Immeritos hands," illustrate ideally the sundry stratagems of Hobbinol and Immerito to advertize themselves. Therefore, Craik's identification of the "paynefull . . . Verses" with the Latin poem appears quite tenable. As students of the *Calender* have pointed out, there are also two passages in the Spenser-Harvey Letters so strikingly similar to passages in E.K.'s Gloss that the reader suspects that E.K. and Spenser are one person. In the gloss of *April* E.K. writes: "*Bay branches* be the signe of honor & victory, & therefore of myghty Conquerors worn in theyr triumphes, & eke of famous Poets, as saith Petrarch in hys Sonets.

Arbor vittoriosa triomphale
Honor D'Imperadori & di Poëti, &c."

These lines of Petrarch are quoted in Harvey's third letter to Spenser. To encourage Spenser, Harvey writes: "Thinke uppon *Petrarches*

Arbor vittoriosa, triomfale,
Onor d'Imperadori, e di Poete:

and perhappes it will aduance the wynges of your Imagination a degree higher." Harvey of course would know whether E.K. were a mere pseudonym, and he here clearly takes for granted Spenser's familiarity with the verses which E.K. quotes. The second passage which is duplicated is more striking and has often been interpreted as conclusive evidence of the identity of E.K. and Spenser. In the gloss of *May* E.K. renders two lines of Cicero thus:

All that I eate did I ioye, and all that I greedily gorged:
As for those many goodly matters left I for others.

In the letter to Harvey dated April 2, 1580, Spenser cites four of his Latin quantitative verses and then asks: "Seeme they comparable to those two, which I translated you *ex tempore* in bed, the last time we lay together in Westminster?"

That which I eate, did I ioy, and that which I greedily gorged,
As for those many goodly matters leaft I for others."

They who think with Herford that the striking similarity between the translation of E.K. and the impromptu rendering of Spenser is an instance of "agreements . . . such as can well exist between intimate friends" hardly satisfy the sceptical reader. Does not this coincidence in translation into English quantitative verse support the view that one person only is the translator?

There are several other bits of evidence, besides those in the Spenser-Harvey Letters, that Spenser and E.K. were identical. Many errors in eclogues and Gloss are curiously identical; naturally, these errors indicate the individual authorship of eclogue and Gloss. The first outstanding error involves ignorance by both Spenser and E.K. of the signs of the zodiac. Lines 13-16 of *November* read thus:

But nowe sadde Winter welked hath the day,
And Phoebus wary of his yerely taske,
Ystabled hath his steedes in lowlye laye
And taken up his ynne in Fishes haske,

E.K. thus glosses *In fishes haske*: "the sonne, reigneth that is, in the signe Pisces all November. A haske is a wicker pad, wherein they use to carry fish." All recent editors have,

of course, noted this error of both E.K. and Spenser, that the sun is in Pisces in February and not in November. Professor Renwick argues at length that the reason for the error is that Spenser originally intended the November eclogue for February.⁴⁵ Though Colin boasts in December:

I learned als the signes of heaven to ken
How Phoebe fayles, where Venus sittes, and when,

this error does not astonish us, for Harvey declared that Spenser knew little about astronomy. But is it not surprising that the editor E.K. is equally ignorant?

The fact that the same mind is at work in both the poetry and the gloss of the *Calender* is supported by the repetition of an antithetic idea which is a favorite theme in Spenser. Diggon's emblem in September, *Inopem me copia fecit*, is thus glossed by E.K.:

This is a saying of Narcissus in Ovid. For when the foolishe boye by beholding hys face in the brooke, fell in loue with his owne likenesse: and not hable to content him selfe with much looking thereon, he cryed out, that plentye made him poore meaning that much gazing had bereft him of sence. But our Diggon vseth it to other purpose, as who that by tryall of many wayes had founde the worst, and through greate plentye was fallen into great penurie. This poesie I knowe, to haue bene much vsed of the author, and to such like effecte, as fyrste Narcissus spake it.

E.K. is certainly correct in his assertion that "this poesie" had "bene much used of the author." In the thirty-fifth sonnet of the *Amoretti* these lines appear:

In their amazement lyke Narcissus vaine,
Whose eyes him starv'd: so plenty makes me poore.

Also, in the description of Avarice in the Masque of the Seven Deadly Sins, a part of the *Faerie Queene* which had doubtless already been written, the poesy appears again:⁴⁶

Whose welth was want, whose plenty made him pore.

If Spenser were taken by this theme, surely no one would know that fact as well as he.

A story about Helen in the gloss of *April* is again told in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. E.K. writes that Rosalind deserves to be

commended to immortalitie for her rare and singular Vertues" as much as "Myrto the most excellent Poete Theocritus his dearling, or Lauretta the diuine Petrarches Goddesse, or Himera the worthy Poete Stesichorus hys Idole: Vpon whom he is sayd so much to haue doted, that in regard of her excellencie, he scorned & wrote against the beauty of Helena. For which his praesumptuous and vnheddie hardinesse, he is sayde by vengauce of the Gods, thereat being offended, to haue lost both his eyes.

This story of the blindness of the poet reappears in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*:

And well I wrote, that oft I heard it spoken,
How one that fairest Helene did reuile:
Through iudgement of the Gods to been ywroken
Lost both his eyes and so remaynd long while,
Till he recanted had his wicked rimes,
And made amends to her with treble praise.⁴⁷

That Spenser and E.K. are familiar with the same stories from the classics is, of course, no proof that E.K. is Spenser. But evidence of their identity is provided by the many variations from classic myth in the eclogues of the *Calender* which are duplicated in E.K.'s Gloss. These singular variations likewise often reappear in Spenser's poetry.⁴⁸

Professor Starnes has shown that the immediate source for notes of E.K. such as those on *Flora* in *March* and *Latonaes seede* in *April* is not classical but the *Thesaurus* of Bishop Thomas Cooper. This same conception of *Flora* reappears in the first book of the *Faerie Queene*.⁴⁹ Another confusion, for which Cooper and Stephanus are doubtless responsible, is E.K.'s identification of *Bellona* with *Pallas*. In *October* after *queint* appears the note: "Bellona, the goddesse of battaile, that is Pallas." Now in Cooper's *Thesaurus*, as Dr. Starnes points out, E.K. might have found, "Bellona, the 'goddesse of bataile'" and in Stephanus' dictionary:

Bellona, belli dea, & Martis soror
Vocatur etiam Enyo & Pallas.

Another variation from classical myth of both Spenser and E.K. concerns Orpheus' recovery of his wife Eurydice. According to Ovid, Virgil, and Milton, Eurydice was only "half-regained". But Spenser implies the recovery of Eury-

dice without condition in *October* (28-30) and in these lines of the *Ruines of Time*:

And they the muses for pittie of the sad wayment
Which Orpheus for Eurydice did make
Her back againe to life sent for his sake.⁵⁰

In the *October* gloss E.K. writes of Orpheus: "he recovered his wife Eurydice from hell". The source of the confusion by Spenser and E.K. is doubtless Cooper's unconventional statement that the Thracian musician "recovered his wife Eurydice out of hell".

The fact that both poet and gloss-writer utilize the same sources suggests, though it does not prove, that they are identical. But there are variations from classic myth in the Gloss and in other poems of Spenser for which there is no apparent source. They are unquestionable errors. In other words E.K. mangles the mythology of the Gloss, and Spenser makes identical errors in his poetry. For instance, Professor Starnes has pointed out that E.K. and Spenser are equally careless of classical tradition in making Apollo, not Jove, the father of the Muses.⁵¹ In the gloss of *April* E.K. after *Virgins* writes: "the nine Muses, daughters of Apollo and Memorie". In the first lines of the *Teares of the Muses*, Spenser apostrophizes the

. . . sacred sisters nine,
The golden brood of great Apolloes wit.

In the *Epithalamion* and thrice in the *Faerie Queene*, Apollo and Memory are the parents of the Muses. A more glaring confusion of both E.K. and Spenser is their identification of Persephone, the Roman Proserpina, the daughter of Zeus and Demeter, with Tisiphone, one of the Furies. In the gloss of *November* E.K. annotates *Furies*: "of Poetes feyned to be three, Persephone, Alecto and Megera, which are sayd to be the Authours of all euill and mischief." In *Virgils Gnat* Spenser thus translates the *Culex*:

There grim Persephone encountering mee,
Doth urge her fellow Furies earnestlie,
With their bright firebronds me to terrifie.⁵²

and in *The Teares of the Muses* Spenser again confuses Persephone with Tisiphone in the lines:

So all with rufull spectacles is fild
Fit for Megera or Persephone.⁵³

How both Spenser and E.K. could have been similarly confused, unless they were one person, is hard to imagine.⁵⁴

But doubtless the most conspicuous example of muddled mythology is the confusion by both Spenser and E.K. of the legends connected with Lethe and the river Styx. This fusion of two legends is identical in *Gloss* and *Calender*, the *Ruines of Time*, and the *Faerie Queene*. In annotating *Lethe* in *March*, E.K. says: "*Lethe* is a lake in hell, which the Poetes call the lake of forgetfulness. . . . Wherein the soules being dipped, did forget the cares of their former lyfe." The lines of *March* that concern Lethe are:

Tho will we little Loue awake,
That nowe sleepeth in Lethe lake.⁵⁵

Those in the *Ruines of Time* are:

For not to have been dipt in Lethe lake,
Could save the sonne of Thetis from to die.⁵⁶

In the *Faerie Queene* Spenser again mentions "Lethe lake":

Henceforth his ghost, freed from repining strife,
In peace may passen over Lethe lake.⁵⁷

Now these passages illustrate two errors which are common to both Spenser and E.K. (1) Lethe is called a lake and (2) immersion in it is held to cause forgetfulness. According to classic myth, Lethe is a river and souls drank of it. Spenser obviously confused Lethe with the Styx, for the incident of Achilles being dipped in the river Styx by his mother is referred to in the lines cited from the *Ruines of Time*.⁵⁸ But would E.K., if he were not the poet, make this same error and also fuse these two legends in identical fashion?

[To Be Concluded]

⁵³*Op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁵⁴E. K.'s introductory epistle to Harvey. On E. K.'s feigning, cf. A. D. Kuersteiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141.

³⁰A. C. Judson, "A Biographical Sketch of John Young, Bishop of Rochester, with Emphasis on his Relations with Edmund Spenser," *Indiana University Studies*, vol. 21, Study No. 103 (March, 1934).

³¹*Op. cit.*, p. 172.

³²With reference to E. K.'s first sentence in the gloss of *October*, "This Aeglogue is made in imitation of Theocritus his xvi. Idilion," Professor Mustard (*Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus* (1911) p. 135) writes: "This comment is misleading, and must have been intended to be misleading. Spenser's indebtedness to Theocritus is exceedingly slight; but it would doubtless be more impressive to refer one of his poems to a Greek model than to the 'homely Carmelite'."

³³*Op. cit.*, p. 180. The parenthesis of E. K., "if he be worthy of the name of a Poete," should, to my mind, be interpreted mainly as a moral rather than a poetical judgment. For further refutation of Herford, see A. D. Kuersteiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

³⁴Pp. 100-101.

³⁵Introductory epistle of E. K. to Harvey.

³⁶E. K.'s position in the letter to Harvey is precisely identical with that of Spenser in the *Tears of The Muses*.

³⁷Pp. 20-21.

³⁸MLN, 49 (1934), 443.

³⁹S P 39 (April, 1942), 143-59.

⁴⁰*Dictionarium, Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum* (1561).

⁴¹*Op. cit.* p. 159. Besides this article, Dr. Starnes has recently published two other articles: "Spenser and the Graces", *P. Q.* 21 (July, 1942) 268-282; and "Spenser and the Muses", *Studies in English* (University of Texas, July 8, 1942) No. 4226, pp. 31-58. In the first article Professor Starnes proves that Spenser was quite as familiar as E. K. with contemporary dictionaries, that the articles on *Charities* in Bishop Cooper's *Thesaurus* and Charles Stephanus' *Dictionarium* were almost certainly the primary sources for all that Spenser wrote about the Graces. The use of the *froward* meaning *Fromward* in *F. Q.* 6. 10. 24. 7 and nowhere else in Spenser, which appears unquestionably taken from Cooper's *fromwarde*, is almost conclusive evidence that Cooper is Spenser's source. In the second article Dr. Starnes proves that Spenser's *Tears of the Muses* was apparently inspired by a careful reading of the passage on the relation of the Muses to learning, to poetic inspiration, and to the laurel crown in the *Thesaurus* of Robert Stephanus. In this article he also shows that E. K. in the *Calender* and Spenser in all his work regarded Calliope as the muse of heroic poetry, that Calliope is therefore the muse of the *Faerie Queene*.

⁴²*Op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁴⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁴⁵*Op. cit.*, *Commentary*, p. 226. For further comment on this error, see A. D. Kuersteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁴⁶I. iv, 29.

⁴⁷Spenser doubtless writes "oft I heard it spoken" to indicate that the story is very familiar because he could have read it in contemporary works of reference as well as in sundry volumes with which he was familiar. Professor Renwick points out that it appears in Plato's *Phaedrus*, in Bembo's *Arolani*, and in Castiglione's *Corteggiano*. In Hobbes' translation of *Il Corteggiano* appears the side-note: "A notable Poet which lost his sight for writing against Helena, and recanting had his sight restored him again." In his study of the *Calender* (PMLA 26 (1911), 419-51) Professor Greenlaw regards the reappearance of E. K.'s story in *Colin Clout* as evidence that Spenser was hiding his identity under the pseudonym E. K.

⁴⁸These departures from classic myth can not be adequately explained by the argument that Spenser and E. K. used as sources the same contemporary works of reference. In some instances the dictionaries of Cooper and Stephanus may account for the departure of both E. K. and Spenser from the conventional story. But in

other instances both E. K. and Spenser err, and there appears to be no work of reference which may be considered the source of the badly mangled classic myths of both Spenser and E. K.

⁴⁹I. 1. 48.

⁵⁰L1. 390-92. The non-classical transference of the name Helicon from the mountain to the well in both the eclogue and the gloss of *April* indicates, as Professor Renwick notes (*Commentary* p. 192), that both Spenser and E. K. were following the medieval tradition of Chaucer and Lydgate.

⁵¹"Spenser and the Muses", *Studies in Eng.* (Univ. of Texas, 1942), No. 4226, p. 33.

⁵²L1. 422-424.

⁵³L1. 163-164.

⁵⁴The reason for Spenser's confusion of Persephone with Tisiphone is explained by Dr. Renwick (p. 226): "The mistake probably arises from Virgil's *Culex*, 260, where one might expect *Tisiphone* in place of Persephone, and in translation of which Spenser speaks of her fellow furies."

⁵⁵L1. 22-23.

⁵⁶L1. 428-429.

⁵⁷I. iii, 36, 5-6.

⁵⁸Possibly Spenser's error arose, as Dr. Renwick notes (p. 189), from Virgil's use of *lacus* for Styx in *Aeneid*, VI.

THE "BROOM-GROVES" IN *THE TEMPEST*

By THOMAS P. HARRISON, SR.

SHAKSPERE'S only use of *broom-groves* occurs in *The Tempest*, IV, i, 66, where Iris, in the masque, addresses Ceres:

. . . and thy broom-groves,
Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves,
Being lasslorn; . . .

The rejected suitor, in his desolation, follows his strongest impulse—to be alone, hidden away from sight and sound of others. But why in broom-groves? How could a grove—"a group of trees without underwood"—furnish the seclusion sought by the "dismissed bachelor"? "Broom" creates further difficulty since the interpretation given avowedly, or tacitly by failing to suggest an alternative, by scores of editors is that "broom" is the Scottish, or British, broom. The problem is how could this broom, a shrub growing only "two and a half or three feet tall," form a grove, or cast a shadow to conceal the disconsolate lover?

The only emendation so far suggested and inserted in editions of *The Tempest* is "brown groves," by Sir Thomas Hanmer. The Furness *Variorum* edition names (p. 201) four editors who use this conjectural emendation, as against some forty (p. 451) who do not.

The *Variorum* note on *broom-groves* contains many suggestions on the meaning of *broom* as broom of Scotland—or of Britain, meaning the same—, for or against; but the only one apparently meeting Furness's approbation is by W. N. Lettsom:

"Lettsom (ap. Dyce, *Gloss.*): 'Is the word *grove* ever applied to a shrub by the Elizabethan writers? Hanmer's "*brown groves*" has been before the public for more than a century, and has been vigorously assailed by men of eminent learning and ability, but no instance of this [i.e. of *grove* applied to shrubs] has been produced, and therefore I conclude that none exists. The notion of disconsolate lovers betaking themselves to groves is common enough in poetry; Shakespeare himself has placed Romeo in a sycamore grove when Rosaline was cruel, and we may judge from this the sort of

grove he would select for young gentlemen in the like case. Till it can be shown that a growth of broom may be called a grove, it seems idle to dispute about the height of the shrub. In Babington's botany it is said to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 feet high, and this is certainly the height to which it grows on Hamstead Heath, though occasionally a plant may be found taller; I am told that in Italy it grows to the height of 6 or 7 feet, but that surely is no great matter.—The defenses set up for [*Italics mine*] *the old reading* [broom-groves] appear to me singularly weak. . . . As to Halliwell's 300 Saracens hid in a broom field, the last word (*field*) is surely incompatible with groves." So of "an American account of 3,000 rebels [sic] concealed in a thick undergrowth and wheat fields. This, however, would not warrant such a phrase as *wheat-groves*."

Even Lettsom, Dyce,—and Furness (?)—would have solved the problem by emending "the old reading," though the four Folios all have—see the *Variorum*—*broome-groves*.

The line in question implies the feeling and procedure of *dismissed* bachelors generally. Shakspeare, in the passage to which Lettsom refers, gives this procedure specifically: *Romeo and Juliet*, I, i, 124ff, after Rosaline had cruelly dismissed Romeo as a lover.

Benvolio speaking to Lady Montague:

Ben[volio]. Madam, an hour before the worshipp'd sun
Peer'd forth the golden window of the East,
A troubled mind drave me to walk abroad;
Where, underneath the grove of sycamore,
That westward rooteth from the city's side,
So early walking did I see your son [*Romeo*]:
Towards him I made; but he was ware of me,
And stole into the covert of the wood:—

Here is a "dismissed bachelor," as Shakspeare conceived him, in his distress.

A passage not cited by Lettsom, with closely parallel pertinence, is found in *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 89-95.

Boyet. Under the cool shade of a sycamore
I thought to close mine eyes some half an hour,
When lo! to interrupt my purpos'd rest,
Toward that shade I might behold address
The king and his companions: warily
I stole into a neighbor thicket by,
And overheard what you shall overhear;—

Editors of *The Tempest* since the *Variorum* add nothing to the solution of the problem. Quite consistently, they endorse Scottish broom, *Cytisus Scoparius*, as the only meaning of *broom* in *broom-groves*, or tacitly do so by not entering *broom-groves* in notes or glossary.

So M. R. Ridley in Britain, editor of *The New Temple Shakespeare*, and special editor of *The Tempest* (1935); and Kittredge in America: *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (1936), and *The Tempest* (1939).

An escape explanation is offered by F. G. Savage¹:

"Although there is no question in regard to the common wild Broom being the plant referred to by the poet, some people very much doubt if Broom could ever attain to the dimensions of a grove . . . to me there is no doubt about it . . . [near] Bearley . . . [are] fine old plants" [Note: *plants*; not *trees*.] "These, with a dense undergrowth . . . of rough herbage, bushes, briers, and brambles, may fairly be described as a 'Broom grove,' being capable of 'shadowing' many 'love-lorn' bachelors."

Broom is defined by the dictionaries, as N.E.D.² and M.-W.; and by horticultural authors, as L. H. Bailey and Norman Taylor, a *shrub Cytisus scoparius* (Scottish, or British, broom) and its allied genus, *Genista*, being best known. This being established, Savage has already been answered by Lettsom,³ above (*q.v.*). A man might hide in a thicket such as Savage describes; but that use by no means warrants a *thicket's* being called a *grove*.

Thus the most recent eminent editors of *The Tempest*—American and British—, by tacit consent, interpret *broom* in *broom-groves* as Scottish, or British, *broom*, thus ignoring the problem presented: how can this *broom*, a shrub, growing only "two and a half or three feet tall," form a grove or cast a "shadow" to afford seclusion to "the dismissed bachelor"?

Strange to say, an approach to a solution through the etymology of *broom* appears never to have occurred to any of the editors of *The Tempest*.

What is the fundamental, the root meaning of broom?

Brockhaus⁴: Brom beere [ahd. bramo "Dornstrauch"]. This is supported by Pinloche⁵: *Brâme, Dornstrauch; Brombeere, Beere des Dornstrauch.*

Modern German *Brombeere*, English *blackberry*, translated literally is *thornberry*; *Brom*, as noun, *thorn, brier, bramble*; as adjective—*independent or in compound—thorny, briery, or brambly*, as in *bramblebush*.

Skeat⁶ substantiates this etymology. First, however, he enters: "*Broom*, the name of a plant; hence, a besom (E) made from the twigs of it. M.E. *brom, broom*, the plant; Wyclif . . . A.S. *brōm, broom*: Gloss. to *Cockaynēs Leechdoms*. Here, the 'plant' is *Cytisus Scoparius*, the Scottish, or British, *broom*, from the twigs of which brooms are in fact made, and from which the later name of that implement was derived."

Skeat continues: "G. *brom*, in *brom-beere*, a bramble-berry, Teut. type **braemoz*. Broom and bramble are closely related. Bramble . . . (E.) M. E. *brembil*, Wyclif . . . A.S. *bremel, brembel*: Gloss. [as above] . . . The second *b* is excrescent, and the vowel shortened . . . Teut. type *braemiloz*, dimin. of Teut. type **braemoz* . . . G. *brom-beerestrauch, bramble-bush*. Here G. *brom* answers to O.H.G. *brāma*, a bramble." Merriam-Webster defines *bramblebush*: "The bramble or a thicket of brambles." Forms parallel to German forms occur in other West-Germanic languages.

To complete the discussion, a rapid review of O.E. and M.E. forms is necessary. After tracing the derivation of *Broom*—"O.E. *brōm* (from W.Ger. **brāma*)"—N.E.D.⁷ adds: "The derivation of the O.Teut. stem *braem* is uncertain, but the earliest sense of the various forms appears to be 'thorn shrub,' whence 'bramble' . . . Broom . . . : A shrub . . . abundant on sandy banks, pastures, and heaths in Britain . . . Also the genus to which this belongs . . . *Cytisus Scoparius*, and the allied genus, *Genista*, including the White Broom and the Giant, or Irish, Broom cultivated in gardens."

N. E. D. is supported by *The Century Dictionary* and *Cyclopedia*⁸: "*Cytisus scoparius* (broom) is an extremely common shrub on uncultivated grounds, heaths, etc. of most parts of Great Britain. Some exotic species are common garden and shrubby plants."

By these authorities Scottish, or British, broom—*Cytisus scoparius*—grows on "sandy banks," "uncultivated ground," "pastures," "heaths": definitely, not in groves; the tall species, genus *Genista*, are *exotics*, cultivated in *gardens and shrubberies*.

In defining *breme*, umlaut form of *brōme*, N.E.D. continues: "Breme . . . obs. exc. poetic and dial . . . OE. *braeme*, *breme*: . . .

I. Celebrated, brilliant, famous; clear, loud, distinct.

II. Fierce, raging, rough, rugged.

The origin of Branch II, *which did not exist in O.E.*, and was more decidedly northern in M.E. use, *is at present unexplained.*" [Italics mine.] Skeat, note 10 above, cites A.S. *brōm*, broom and gives A.S. *bremel*, *brembil*, umlaut forms from *broom*, warranting A.S. *breme* of Branch II.

Chaucer⁹—M. E.; not "northern":

(1) "He was war of Arcite and Palamon.
That foughten *breme*, as it were bores two."

Spenser¹⁰:

"Comes the *breme* Winter with chamfred browes,
.
Drerily shooting his stormy *darte*,"—[Italics mine]

Shakspeare's *broome-groves* is surprisingly forecast by Chaucer in "The Reeve's Tale," l. 4286:

"Help! hooly croys of Brome-holm," she seyde.
In manus tuas! Lord, to the I calle!"

M.E. *brome* (braam), thorny; by synecdoche, cruel, causing intense pain.

M.E. *holm* (O.E. *holen*, holly), the holm oak; prickly leaves, wood excessively hard; hence, by implication, inflicting the greater torture.

From *broom-tree*, thorny tree, not too remote is the conception of broom-grove: . . . a grove having in it *coverts*, *thickets*, of "brambles and embracing bushes" necessary for the seclusion of dismissed lovers.

The problem of the meaning Shakspeare intended to convey in "*broom-groves* which the dismissed bachelor loves" is, in *The Tempest*, stated generally: any dismissed bachelor, or "all in like case." The meaning is indicated by two specific instances in earlier plays. Boyet, though not a dismissed bachelor, is deeply involved in love affairs, seeking seclusion, is "under the cool shade of a sycamore," when, to avoid a group coming upon him, he "steals into a neighbor thicket by." An identical instance is given in *Romeo*, a bachelor cruelly "dismissed" by Rosaline, who also seeks seclusion in "a grove of sycamores," where, threatened by intrusion, "he steals into a covert of the grove."

Incidentally, the poet describes in a different connexion a *thicket*, which may become a *covert*, composed of *broom* in its strictly etymological meaning, thorn-bush; bramble; bramble-bush; a brake of brambles: thus excluding the possibility of identifying that thicket with Scottish broom or any related species, or species of other genera:

"The thorny brambles and embracing bushes,
As fearful of him, part, . . ." *Venus and Adonis*, l. 629f.

Conclusion: Groves of sycamores, or of other kind or kinds of trees, having within them, or along their borders, *thickets* of "thorny brambles and embracing bushes" which may be used as *coverts*—these are Shakspeare's broom-groves.

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¹F. G. Savage: *The Flora and Folk Lore of Shakespeare*, London, 1923; Stratford-on-Avon, 1938.

²Cf. N.E.D.; and *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopædia*, Notes, 11 and 12, below.

³Cf. Lettsom.

⁴Brockhaus: *Der Neue Brockhaus*. Leipzig, 1938.

⁵Pinloche, A: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, Wein: Larousse Verlag. Zweite Auflage.

⁶W. W. Skeat; *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. Oxford, 1924. Also: A concise Form, Fourth Edition, New York, 1896.

⁷James A. H. Murray, Editor: *A New English Dictionary*. Oxford, 1888.

⁸The Century Company: *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*. New York, 1889-1901; 1909-1910.

⁹F. N. Robinson: *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Boston . . . 1933:

(1) "The Knight's Tale," 11. 1698f.

(2) "The Reeve's Tale," 11. 4286f.

(3) P. 791: "Rood of Bromeholm," was brought from the East to Norfolk. . . . See Skeat's note to *Piers Plowman* V, v. 231."

(4) Op. cit. Oxford, 1906: account of this finding of the true cross by St. Helena . . . and of "The Rode of Brome-holm" brought to Norfolk in 1224.

(5) A. W. Pollard, M. H. Siddell, and others: *The Works of Chaucer*, p.

59: "Brome-holm was a Norfolk Priory."

¹⁰Herford, Editor: *Shepheards Calendar*, by Edmund Spenser. London, 1921. "Februarie," 11. 44, 46.

A NOTE ON THE "LATE ECLIPSES" IN *KING LEAR*

By JOHNSTONE PARR

SEVERAL critics who believe the well-known passage on the "late eclipses" in *King Lear* (I, ii. 98 ff.) to be a topical allusion have attempted to turn the celestial universe virtually upside down to discover the actual date of occurrence of the "late eclipses" referred to, and thereby to establish more precisely the date of composition of the play.¹ Almost all of these commentators, however, have apparently ignored the fact that in determining the actual phenomena most likely referred to by Shakspeare one should ascertain not only the date and magnitude of the eclipses visible in London but also the published astrological prognostications regarding them—especially since Edmund refers explicitly to "a prediction I *read* this other day . . . and the effects he *writes* of." Unfortunately, almost all of these astrological prognostications—to be distinguished from the common almanacs—are now not extant. There can be little doubt, however, that a series of alarming astrological prognostications—similar to those in 1583 and 1588²—were issued in London between 1600 and 1605 regarding the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter (in 1603) and the unusual number of solar and lunar eclipses during the period. Yet only one scholar, Dr. G. B. Harrison, has cited a seventeenth-century prognostication which can be juxtaposed with Shakspeare's passage in *King Lear*.³ I wish to bring to light an apparently hitherto unknown astrological pamphlet published in London in 1604 which has some bearing upon the passage in *King Lear*.

In this little booklet by Himbert de Billy entitled *Certaine Wonderful Predictions for seven yeeres ensuing, shewing the Strange and Wonderful Comets and Meteors, beginning this present yeere 1604*,⁴ Englishmen could have found a somewhat alarming account of the celestial manifestations of the time. Billy presages for 1605 as follows:

" . . . the Celestial figure for this yeare . . . foretells many evils, and discommodities to happen in the world: . . . so many great

Eclipses (especially of the Sunne) do fall in so few yeeres, whereby greivous and most wretched accidents are presaged. Perhaps these be the latter days, when as all piety and charity shal waxe colde, truth and justice shal be oppressed: and all things else shall be mixed, disturbed, and turned upside down, and the forepart set behinde by torments and seditions: and finally nothing else shall be expected, but spoyle and ruine of the common society. . . .

This yeere the Moone shall be twice Eclipsed, and the Sunne once. The first Eclipse of the Moone . . . on the 23 day of March . . . signifies famine and greivous sicknesses and pestilences, tempestuous and hurtfull windes: . . .

The second Eclipse of the Moone . . . the 17 day of September . . . signifies change of Lawes, Institutions and Sects: and . . . the self-same things which are mentioned in the yeere 1603 the 14 day of May: . . . [Turning back to the prognostication for 1603, we find: . . . the Eclipse of the xiiii of May, . . . proclaymes death unto Kings, Princes, and Ecclesiastical persons, . . . death unto Cattell, the exile of a great King or Prince, imprisonments or death, hate betweene the Commons and the greater sort, mutuaill hates and differences, motions of great Oathes and horrible warres, man-slaughters, fire, theevery, repines, and depopulations: untimely birthes, Agues, Pestilences, hot infirmities, death and barrennesse of fruits, and notable mutations . . . thefts and robberies].

The Sun likewise shall be Eclipsed on the second of October, . . . to foreshew the death of some great King or Prince, seditions, warres, famine, and Pestilence . . . greivous sicknesses, diseases, . . . tempestuous and most pernicious windes:"⁵

Obviously one should not search for verbal parallels in Shakspeare's passage and the prognostications of the time. Since every one of Edmund's and Gloster's "effects" of the "late eclipses" occurs subsequently *in the play*, it would be a remarkable coincidence indeed if exact parallels should be found in any contemporary astrological pamphlet. But there is hardly any doubt that Shakspeare carefully adopted a *pattern* from such ephemeral literature; and by making the "effects" suit his plot, fashioned the astrologer's material into something quite his own. The conversation in *Lear* concerning the "late eclipses" stands out as incomparable literary dialogue as well as a harbinger of the subsequent action of the play; it must have appeared especially subtle and effective in being concerned with an actual topic of the times in which many people were vitally interested and concerning which some doubtless had grave misgivings. Furthermore, the argument that "these late eclipses" shows

Lear to have been written after the eclipses of September and October, 1605, is somewhat weakened when we consider what prognostications concerning them were on the London bookstalls in 1604 or earlier.

University of Alabama.

¹Cf. the numerous articles in the *London Times Literary Supplement* (1933), pp. 856, 878, 896, 909; (1934), p. 12. Cf. also R. H. Darby, "Astrology in Shakespeare's *Lear*," *English Studies*, XX (1938), 250-257; H. H. Furness, *A Variorum Edition of King Lear*, pp. 51-56, 378-381; and Professor Kittredge's recent edition, in which the allusion is used to determine the date of the play.

²Cf. Carroll Camden, "Elizabethan Almanacs and Prognostications," *The Library*, XII (1931), 84-108, 194-207 (esp. 194-203).

³*TLS* (1933), p. 856. Dr. Harrison cites an almanac-maker's "Epistle" dated "London, February 11, 1605[-06]" as "one possible source of this passage in *King Lear*."

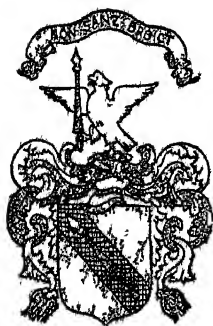
⁴Although the title-page gives the publication as "London, 1604," the book contains a prognostication for 1603, indicating that it was originally printed (certainly written) before 1604. I cite the Folger Shakespeare Library copy.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 8-12, 3-4.

April, 1945

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The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



The Authorship of the *Second Maiden's Tragedy*
and *The Revenger's Tragedy*

With Horn and Hound

The Influence of Environment

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *SECOND MAIDEN'S TRAGEDY* AND *THE REVENGER'S TRAGEDY*

By RICHARD H. BARKER

IN recent years quite different opinions have been expressed about the authorship of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* and *The Revenger's Tragedy*, two Elizabethan plays that may well have been written by the same man; but up to the present time no one has tried to gather together and interpret all the relevant evidence about them. Yet this seems an obvious thing to do. It is possible that the whole body of evidence will prove less ambiguous than the separate items; it is also possible that reasonable certainty about the authorship of one of the two plays—say *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*—will lead to something like certainty about the authorship of the other. *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* is, in fact, the natural one to begin with, because it has been much less carefully studied than its companion piece and hence is more likely to yield a substantial amount of fresh evidence. Such a beginning no doubt involves a violation of chronology, but under the circumstances this will perhaps be excusable.

I. *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*

The Second Maiden's Tragedy [SMT] is one of the few surviving plays in the Warburton collection, now preserved at the British Museum in MS. Lansdowne 807. The greater part of the text is in the hands of a scribe, who presumably made a fair copy of the author's draft. But some of the corrections and additions are in other hands — one of them probably the author's, one probably the prompter's, and one probably Sir George Buc's. At the end of the manuscript there is the following note: "This second Maydens tragedy (for it hath no name inscribed) may wth the reformations bee acted publikely. 31. octob^r. 1611. /. G. Buc."¹ On the verso of the same sheet there is another note (apparently written before 1650), in which the play is ascribed to Thomas Goff. But Goff's name has been crossed out and that of George Chapman substituted. This name

has in turn been crossed out and the words "By Will Shakspear" have been written below it. The hands responsible for the changes belong to the late seventeenth or eighteenth century, but the exact dates are immaterial since none of the three ascriptions can be taken seriously.²

The play was first published in 1824, and during the century or so that followed several scholars expressed opinions about its authorship. In 1829 Tieck argued for Massinger,³ but it is easy enough to show that Massinger and the author of *SMT* have little if anything in common. In 1875 Swinburne suggested Middleton,⁴ but in 1891 Fleay contended that Middleton could not have written the play because he was not connected with the King's Men until 1622. Had Fleay confined himself to the facts—had he said that Middleton was not known to have been connected with the King's Men as early as 1611—he would himself have seen that his argument had little force. But Fleay went on to make observations of considerable importance. He showed that certain incidents in *SMT* closely resembled incidents in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, and that both plays were probably written by the same man.⁵ He did not himself fix on a definite name, but this was done in 1911 by Oliphant, who favored Middleton,⁶ and in 1919 by Sykes, who favored Tourneur.⁷ In 1930 the evidence for Tourneur was summarized by Nicoll, who, however, refused to include the play in his edition of Tourneur's works.⁸

The Case for Tourneur. The evidence for Tourneur—in so far as it consists of resemblances between *SMT* and *The Atheist's Tragedy*—is not very impressive, either in quality or quantity. Sykes gives only the vaguest sort of verbal parallels. Nicoll notices that the deaths of Anselmus, Votarius, and the Wife are somewhat like the deaths of Sebastian, Belforest and Levidulcia. No doubt they are, but the principal characters of domestic tragedies often die in the final scene. Nicoll goes on to point out a "general likeness" between Govianus and the Lady on the one hand and Charlemont and Castabella on the other;⁹ but it is scarcely the sort of likeness that suggests common authorship.

The Case for Middleton: 1. Irony. The play is like much of Middleton's dramatic work in that it is essentially and profoundly ironical. It concerns characters who are fundamentally blind, who fail to understand the world in which they live, who insist on undoing themselves. The most striking example is perhaps Anselmus, the central character in the domestic scenes, who arranges a test for his wife because he wants to make sure that she will always remain faithful to him. But the test has disastrous consequences—she falls; he gets exactly what he wants to avoid. One is reminded of many Middleton plays in which the characters work against their own interests—of *A Mad World, My Masters* and *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, in which Follywit and Hoard insist on marrying whores, of *More Dissemblers Besides Women*, in which Lactantio and the Cardinal betray themselves for ends they can never attain, of *The Changeling*, in which Beatrice not only alienates Alsemero but becomes hopelessly entangled with De Flores, the man she loathes.

There is also a good deal of incidental irony, some of it strikingly close to that used in the plays of Middleton. In lines 894-904, for example, Anselmus, who is not yet aware that his wife has betrayed him, eulogizes marriage. "Tis a fine life to marrie:" he says, "no states like it." In *Women Beware Women*, III. i. 82-109, Leantio, who is not yet aware that his wife has become the Duke's mistress, delivers a similar eulogy, beginning:

How near am I now to a happiness
That earth exceeds not! not another like it.

In *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, V. ii. 41-42, Hoard exclaims:

Who would not wed? the most delicious life!
No joys are like the comforts of a wife.

He has not yet discovered that his wife is a courtesan.

2. *Characters.* A number of characters in the play might be compared to somewhat similar characters in Middleton, but in one case at least—that of Sophonirus—comparison

is inevitable. He is a wittol who describes with obvious relish his infamous domestic arrangements. His wife's lover, he says, "getts me all my children, there I saue by'te;"¹⁰ and he goes on to remark that

one frend is Baracadoe to a hundred
& keeps em owte, nay more, a husbandes sure
to haue his children all of one[s] mans getting,
& he that performes best, can haue no better;
I'me eene as happie then that saue a labour.¹¹

He is obviously very similar to Allwit in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, another wittol who describes his domestic arrangements in much the same way, sometimes using exactly the same language.

He gets me all my children, and pays the nurse
Monthly or weekly.

I'm as clear
From jealousy of a wife as from the charge:
O, two miraculous blessings! 'tis the knight
Hath took that labour all out of my hands.¹²

3. *Style*. The style is, as Swinburne says, very close to that of the later Middleton. It is scarcely necessary to list mannerisms or to classify images: the best evidence is the text itself. In a speech like the following one gets—or seems to get—the full flavor of Middleton's verse. The rhythm is characteristically easy, the images are characteristically elusive.

Ile sooner giue my blessings to a drunkerd
Whome the ridiculous power of wine, makes humble
as foolish vse makes thee,—base spirrited girle
that canst not thinck aboute disgrace and beggarie,
when Glorie is set for thee and thy seed
advancement for thy father, beside ioye
able to make a latter springe in me
in this my fowrescore somer, and renew me
with a reuersion yet of heat and youthe?
but the deiection of thy mynde and spirrit
makes me thy father guiltie of a fault
that drawes thy birth in question, and een wronges
thy mother in her ashes being at peace
with heavne and man, had not her life and vertues

bin seales vnto her faithe, I should thinck thee now
 the worke of some hirde servaunt! some howse Tailor
 and no one part of my endeouour in thee.
 had I neglected greatness: or not rather
 pursued allmost to my eternall hazard,
 thow'd'st nere bin a lordes daughter. (Ll. 655-674.)

"When Glorie is set for thee and thy seed," "Pursued allmost to my eternall hazard"—lines like these are unmistakably Middleton's, and the lines containing the image of the seasons—

ioye
 able to make a latter springe in me
 in this my fowrescore somer—

are even more characteristic. It so happens that Middleton uses the same image and much the same language in *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*, IV, i, 1-3:

O my reviving joy! thy quickening presence
 Makes the sad night of threescore and ten years
 Sit like a youthful spring upon my blood.

4. *Diction*. The author of the play shares with Middleton a fondness for certain abstract words that are rich in associations—words like *joy*, *blessing*, *comfort*, *grace*, *glory*, *peace*, and *sin*. There are several examples in the long speech quoted above. Of the unusual words, only one seems significant—*mystical*, meaning "secret" or "unavowed." It occurs in the phrase *misticall Pandaress*, l. 99³; compare *mystical cases of venery* (*Family of Love*, IV, iv, 86), *mystical quean* (*Your Five Gallants*, V, i, 5-6), *mystical barwdy-house* and *mystical lecher* (*Roaring Girl*, preface and II, i, 22), *mystical baggage* (*Chaste Maid*, III, i, 20), and *mysticall harlott* (*Hengist*, V, ii, 199).

5. *Versification*. It is easy to see from examples given elsewhere in this paper that the versification is quite unlike that of Tourneur, but very similar to the versification of the later Middleton. Figures on feminine endings provide a kind of rough check:

Cf. Women Beware Women, III, 1, 85-86:

the conceal'd comforts of a man

Lock'd up in woman's love.
as poore as *Vertue*. (182)

Cf. Women Beware Women, I, i, 128:

And I'm as rich as virtue can be poor.
fortunes are but the outsides of true worth. (189)

Cf. Mad World, IV, iii, 41:

Some have fair outsides that are nothing worth.
yo^r grace hath hapned
vpon a straung waie, yet it proues the nearest. (247-48)

Helvetius here expresses approval of the Tyrant's plan for seducing the Lady. *Cf. No Wit*, I, ii, 104-105, where Mistress Low-Water says of Sir Gilbert Lambstone, who is trying to seduce her:

What a strange path he takes to my affection,
And thinks't the nearest way!
the only enemy that my life can showe me. (623)

Bellarius reveals his hatred for Votarius—a hatred that is never properly explained in the play. *Cf. More Dissemblers*, III, ii, 59-60, where Lactantio reveals a hatred, also unexplained, for Andruggio:

The only enemy that my vengeance points to.
yet could yo^u be more pretious then a father
w^{ch} next a husband is the ritcheest treasure
mortalitie can show vs. (694-96)

Cf. Hengist, I, ii, 180-181:

You Chaste Lampe of eternitye, tis a treasure
Too pretious for deaths moment to pertake.
Aboue the flight of twentie fethered mistresses
[that glister in the Synne of Princes fauours]. (714-15)

Cf. Women Beware Women, IV, ii, 21-22:

Cf. Changeling, III, iv, 14:

And if that eye be darken'd that offends me.

Also *Michaelmas Term*, IV, iv, 80 (No eye offends us).

I haue lockt my self
from myne owne libertie wth that key. (986-87)

Cf. Mad World, I, ii, 111-114:

And as a keeper that locks prisoners up
Is himself prison'd under his own key,
Even so my husband, in restraining me,
With the same ward bars his own liberty.

one that knowes how to imploye thee, and scornes death
as much as SOME [great] men feare it. (1353-54)

that he became as hatefull to our myndes
as death's vnwellcome to a howse of ritches. (2432-33)

Cf. More Dissemblers, I, iii, 99:

Hates him as deeply as a rich man death.

Also *Women Beware Women*, III, i, 111-112 (Why, this is dreadful now as sudden death/ To some rich man).

like some man
in tyme of sicknes that would rather wish
(to please his fearefull flesh) his former health
restord to him then death, when after triall,
if it were possible ten thowsand worldes
could not entice him to returne agen
and walke vpon the earth from whence he flew. (1441-47)

Cf. Hengist, I, i, 76-78:

A gloryfied soule departed from the Bodye,
Wold to that loathsom gaole returne againe,
With such greate paine.
o the wronges
that ladies do their honors when they make
their slaues familiar wth their weaknesses
thei'r euer thus rewarded for that deed,
they stand in feare eene of the groomes they feed. (1566-70)

Cf. Your Five Gallants, IV, ii, 85-88:

she's a fool

That makes her servant fellow to her heart;
It robs her of respect, dams up all duty,
Keeps her in awe e'en of the slave she keeps.

she trustes me now to cast a mist forsooth
before the servauntes eyes. (1636-37)

Cf. No Wit, II, ii, 136:

And to cast mists before my father's eyes.

Also *Family of Love*, III, ii, 54 (cast a mist before thy jealous guardian), *Black Book*, VIII, 35 (cast a cuckold's mist before the eyes of her husband), and *Triumphs of Truth*, VII, 242 (cast mists to blind the plain/ And simple eye of man).

in that pale parte

wch drawes so many pitties from these springes. (2308-09)

what slowe springes haue I? . . .

how pittie strikes een through the incensibill thinges. (1738-40)

Cf. Mad World, I, i, 177-178:

a fool that truly pities

The false springs of thine eyes.

Also *Game at Chess*, I, i, 15 (Rayes the least Spring of pittie in her Eye).

wellcome to myne eyes
as is the daye-springe from the morninges woombe. (2388-89)

Cf. Triumphs of Truth, VII, 258:

Before the day sprang from the morning's womb.

Also *Changeling*, IV, ii, 150-151 (Chaste as the breath of heaven, or morning's womb,/ That brings the day forth).

Ime like a man pluckt vp from many waters
that neuer lookt for help and am here plac'te
vpon this cheerfull mowtaine wher prosperitie
shootes forth her rithest beame. (2422-25)

Cf. No Wit, II, iii, 252-254:

I feel a hand of mercy lift me up
Out of a world of waters, and now sets me
Upon a mountain, where the sun plays most.

Parallels are not perhaps at the moment a fashionable form of evidence, but in this case they clearly indicate a connection of some sort between Middleton and *SMT*. Either (1) the author of the play studied and imitated Middleton, or (2) Middleton studied and imitated the play, or (3) Middleton and the author were one and the same. The first possibility seems definitely excluded because many of the parallels given above concern plays that were almost certainly written later than *SMT*. The second possibility deserves consideration, even though it is difficult to believe that Middleton made a careful study of a second or third-rate play that was not published until two hundred years after his death. But before attempting to review the whole body of evidence, I should perhaps list resemblances between *SMT* and *The Revenger's Tragedy*, some of them first noticed by Fleay more than fifty years ago.

II. *SMT* and *RT*.

645 ff. Helvetius urges his daughter to become the Tyrant's mistress.

Fleay compares *RT*, II, i, 153 ff. Gratiana urges her daughter to become Lussurioso's mistress.

738-749. The Lady pretends not to recognize her father. Oliphant compares *RT*, II, i, 180-182, 260-262. Castiza pretends not to recognize her mother.

750 ff. Helvetius is converted by Govianus. Stoll compares *RT*, IV, iv, 38 ff. Gratiana is converted by her sons.

1249 ff. The Lady commits suicide to escape the Tyrant's lust.

Nicoll compares *RT*, I, iv, 30-53. Antonio's wife commits suicide after she has been raped.

1374 ff. To avoid being suspected of murder, Govianus props Sophonirus's body against a door so that it looks as if he were still alive.

Cf. RT, IV, ii, 238-253, V, i, 1 ff. For the same reason Vindice and Hippolito lean the Duke's body, apparently in a sitting position, against a post or wall.

2188¹⁻¹⁶. The dying Anselmus learns of the infidelity of his wife.

Stoll compares *RT*, III, v, 185-234. The dying Duke learns of the infidelity of his Duchess.

2317 ff. Govianus paints the corpse of his mistress with poison and thus kills the Tyrant.

Fleay compares *RT*, III, v, 105-108, 154-159. Vindice poisons the skull of his mistress and thus kills the Duke.

These resemblances are very striking, and no one since Fleay has doubted that the two tragedies are in some way related. But I shall again postpone trying to determine exactly what the relationship is until I have reviewed the scholarship on *RT* and presented what seems to me the very strong case that can be made for Middleton.

[*To be continued*]

¹*The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, 1611, ed. W. W. Greg, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford, 1909), p. 78.

²*Ibid.* pp. v-xii.

³Ludwig Tieck, *Shakespeare's Vorschule* (Leipzig, 1823-29), II, xliii-xlvii. See also *D.N.B.*, article "Massinger," where Boyle divides the play between Massinger and Tourneur.

⁴Swinburne, *Complete Works*, ed. Sir Edmund Gosse and T. J. Wise (London, 1925-27), XII, 182-188; also XI, 398-399 and XVIII, 153, 375.

⁵F. G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642* (London, 1891), II, 272, 330-331. See also Beddoes, *Works*, ed. H. W. Donner (Oxford, 1935), p. 650.

⁶E. H. C. Oliphant, "Problems of Authorship in Elizabethan Dramatic Literature," *Modern Philology*, VIII (1910-11), 423-424. See also Oliphant, "The Authorship of 'The Revenger's Tragedy,'" *Studies in Philology*, XXIII (1926), 158-159; *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* (New Haven, 1927), p. 443; and *Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists* (New York, 1929), II 10.

⁷H. Dugdale Sykes, "Cyril Tourneur: 'The Revenger's Tragedy': 'The Second Maiden's Tragedy,'" *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, V (1919), 225-229.

⁸Tourneur, *Works*, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (London, n.d.), pp. 47-49.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 48. The likeness was first noticed by Stoll; see E. E. Stoll, *John Webster* (Boston, 1905), pp. 114-115.

¹⁰L. 48.

¹¹Ll. 55-59. The brackets in quotations from *SMT* mark corrections in the MS.

¹²*Chaste Maid*, I. ii. 18-19, 48-51. I have used the Bullen text for all of Middleton's plays except *Hengist* and *A Game at Chess* (where I have used the texts of R. C. Bald).

¹³This figure includes oaths excised in the MS.

WITH HORN AND HOUND

By PAUL FATOUT

AMONG the Elizabethans a warrant of gentility almost as necessary as an heraldic crest was a lusty devotion to prescribed forms of hunting. The chase of the deer—both fallow and red—coursing the hare, hunting the wild boar, and hawking were a gentleman's pursuits. Fowling—taking birds with snares, with cross-bow, and eventually with shotgun—though within the pale of the correct thing, was too tedious to be popular with gentlemen. It was chiefly a poor man's sport. Angling was not an aristocratic pastime, and fox hunting was beneath notice, the fox being considered merely vermin.¹

Fowre maner beestys of venery there are
The first of theym is the hert the second is the hare
The bore is oon of tho the Wolff and not oon moe²

However, all varieties of hunting and woodcraft encompassed a vocabulary of particular terms, now mostly obsolete, but as familiar to the Elizabethan to the manner born as the language of motors and radio is to us.³ As he was conditioned from infancy to horses, hounds, hawks, and the chase, the language came naturally to him; he needed no glossary. But the parvenu, pranked in an upstart title (like Osric and his kind, whom "the drossy age dotes on"), needed a handbook if he would stall pretense betwixt the wind and his new hatched nobility.

The earliest original book of venery in English was *The Boke of St. Albans*, attributed to Dame Juliana Berners, and published in 1486; by the time of Shakspeare's death it had gone through, completely or in part, twenty-two editions, nine of them within his lifetime. Another treatise was *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting*, conjecturally by George Turberville, published in 1575.

Both of these, however, stem from *Livre de Chasse*, the most famous of hunting books, written between 1387 and 1391 by Count Gaston de Foix, or Gaston Phoebus, as he

was (and is) usually known. An English translation, entitled *The Master of Game*, with some original additions, was published by the grandson of Edward III, the second Duke of York (the Aumerle of Shakspeare's *Richard II*), between 1406 and 1413. By Shakspeare's time, however, the hunting language had either discarded the French vocabulary in favor of honest English words, or had corrupted the French to its English equivalents (as "quarry" for "curée," for instance). Some of the elaborate punctilio of venery, as set forth in *The Master of Game*, had disappeared; some had been modified to English uses. Though the Elizabethans could not escape the influence of French language and customs, they were hardly the people to venerate either.

Shakspeare, since he apparently wrote of hunting from observation and experience rather than from books (like Ben Jonson), is all English. Indeed, so English and so well informed as never, so far as I know, to be caught out. The most interesting conclusion of *The Diary of Master William Silence*⁴ is that this same accuracy in the language of venery is a valid test of the authenticity of doubtful passages.

The oldest English book of falconry, significantly entitled *The Institution of a Gentleman*, author unknown, was published in 1555. Another authoritative handbook was *The Booke of Faulconrie*, by George Turberville, originally bound with *The Noble Arte* and published in 1575.

These few texts are the principal sources of a now dead language, though they are by no means all, as the Elizabethan presses spawned books on hunting, horsemanship, farriery, falconry, archery, and other gentlemanly occupations about as often as our presses turn out guides to purposeful living and success.

"Go, bid the huntsmen wake them with their horns," commands Theseus.⁵ Good hunters' horns

driven of two spans in length, and not much more nor much less, and not too crooked neither too straight, but that the flue be three or four fingers uppermore than the head, that unlearned

hunters call the great end of the horn. And also that it be as great and hollow driven as it can for the length, and that it be shorter on the side of the baldric than at the nether end. And that the head be as wide as can be, and always driven smaller and smaller to the flue, and that it be well waxed thicker or thinner according as the hunter thinks it will sound best.⁵

Such a horn, of ivory, wood, silver, fashioned from an ibex or even a common cattle horn, may be in the mind of Benedick when he says:

Is it not strange that sheeps' guts should hale souls out of men's bodies? Well, a horn for my money, when all's done.⁷

But in railing against the married state he protests, "... that I will ... hang my bugle in an invisible baldric, all women shall pardon me."⁸ Handsomely decorated with gold or silver ferrules and rings, and provided with a stopper for the mouthpiece, the more elaborate hunting horn became a drinking horn. As in Emelye's sacrifice to Diana: "The hornes fulle of meth, as was the gyse."⁹

Titus invites Saturninus to the hunt:

an it please your majesty
To hunt the panther and the hart with me,
With horn and hound we'll give your grace bonjour.¹⁰

The hart—Elizabethan hunters were not concerned with panthers, lions, or bears, which appear off and on in Shakespeare's plays—is the male of the red deer, which is the European relative of the American Elk, or Wapiti. Though loosely defined by the modern dictionary as any male of this species, in the language of venery the hart was a male of six years, a hart of ten.

And for to speke of the hert iff ye Will it lere
Ye shall hym a Calfe call at the fyrst yere
The secunde yere a Broket so shall ye hym call
The therde yere a Spayad lerneth thus all
The fowrth yere a Stagge call hym by any Way
The fithe yere a grete Stagge youre dame bide yow say
The vi yere call hym an hert¹¹

Though a rascal was any deer under ten, it was also a small or lean deer, unworthy of the chase. Of Falstaff's ragged company—"No eye hath seen such scarecrows"¹²—Prince

Hal exclaims, "I never did see such pitiful rascals."¹³ When Falstaff drives the quarrelsome Pistol out of the Boar's-head Tavern, Doll Tearsheet says, admiringly:

I pray thee, Jack, be quiet; the rascal's gone. Ah, you whoreson little villain, you!¹⁴

A hart of ten had a head of two tines on each top, in addition to his rights (brow, bay, and tray tines), which every warrantable deer was supposed to possess as a matter of course.

And when a hart beareth as many tines on the one side as on the other, he may say if he be but forked that he is a hart of ten, and if he be troched of three he is a hart of twelve, if he be troched of four he is a hart of sixteen, always if it be seen that he has his rights beneath as before is said.¹⁵

"'Note that when you speak of a harts hornes,' says Turberville, 'you must term them the Head and not the Hornes of the hart'.¹⁶ Though *The Master of Game* naively confuses the two terms, Shakspeare is more careful. In a familiar interplay of double meanings Ulysses, baiting Menelaus with having been cuckolded by Paris, says:

O deadly gall, and theme of all our scorn!
For thus we lose our heads to gild his horns.¹⁷

And later in the same scene Menelaus, restive under the jibes of Cressida, Patroclus, and Ulysses, exclaims:

You fillip me o' the head.
Cres. No, I'll be sworn.
Ulys. It were no match, your nail against his horn.¹⁸

The philosophical Clown speaks of marriage to the Countess Rousillon:

If men could be contended to be what they are, there were no fear in marriage; for young Charbon the puritan and old Poysam the papist, howsome'er their hearts are severed in religion, their heads are both one; they may jowl horns together, like any deer in the herd.¹⁹

Iago's mocking question: "How is it, general? have you not hurt your head?"²⁰ seems admissible here also.

A warrantable hart stood about sixteen hands high, and

in the pride of grease—sometime between Midsummer Day and Holy Rood Day, the best hunting season, as the Elizabethan hunter wanted fat venison—weighed upward of half a ton. In color “some be called brown, some dun, and some yellow.”²¹ Mature, wise, the hart was the noblest prey of the hunter, “of all Beasts the goodliest, stateliest, and most manly.”²² Shakspeare recognizes its majesty in the Duke’s “noblest hart” in *Twelfth Night*, Antony’s “brave hart” addressed to the dead Caesar, and elsewhere. He quibbles with the word, as in Tybalt’s “What, art thou drawn among these heartless hinds?”²³ An example of the association of ideas and word play is Touchstone’s comment on his proposed marriage to Audrey:

A man may, if he were of a fearful heart, stagger in this attempt; for heere we have no temple but the wood, no assembly but horn-beasts. But what though? Courage! As horns are odious, they are necessary.²⁴

A common method of hunting the red deer was within the confines of a park or pale. Apparently anybody, noble or otherwise, might own a park, which he held by prescription, or king’s grant. It was enclosed²⁵ and stocked with deer and other beasts of the chase. A forest, on the other hand, was a tract of land not necessarily wooded, not enclosed, often waste and wild, which was the property of the king only, and set apart for the keeping of game for his use.²⁶ Unlike the park it was protected by laws, courts, and officers of its own. Remember

Herne the hunter
Sometime a keeper here in Windsor forest²⁷

and the two forest keepers in the third part of *Henry VI*. Though Shakspeare speaks of forests many times, either as merely “the forest,” or by name, as Windsor forest (obviously a Crown property), Gaultree, Birnam, and the forest of Arden, only once have I found “my forest.” In *Richard II* the aspiring Bolingbroke,

a prince by fortune of my birth,
Near to the king in blood,²⁸

lectures Bushy and Green before their execution:

you have fed upon my signories,
Dispark'd my parks and fell'd my forest woods,
From my own windows torn my household coat,
Razed out my impress, leaving me no sign
Save men's opinions and my living blood,
To show the world I am a gentleman.²⁹

A park, however, (sometimes called a pale) was the usual holding of a landed proprietor, the traditional adjunct of the manor house, and, according to Bolingbroke, one of the signs of a gentleman. Banquo is murdered in "a park near the palace." Cymbeline's Queen refers to Britain

As Neptune's park, ribbed and paled in
With rocks unscaleable and roaring waters.³⁰

The amorous Venus, embracing the reluctant Adonis, implores:

since I have hemmed thee here
Within the circuit of this ivory pale,
I'll be a park and thou shalt be my deer.³¹

Hamlet speaks of "the pales and forts of reason."³²

The pale was so bounded, either by natural or artificial barriers, that the prey could not escape. Within, it could be blenched into the toils and so to a bay. Such a method allowed part of the assembly to travel afoot as well as horseback, and either to follow the hounds or to take up a position on a point of vantage to watch the pursuit and to listen to the cry. Besides, hunting within a pale, though exhausting enough, was more nearly consistent with the capabilities of both horses and hounds than hunting at force or strength over open country, as in the chase of the buck and the roe.³³

The hart was harboured (his lair discovered) early on the morning of the hunt. The hunter could be no slug-a-bed. Shakspere's glimpses of early morning—"As when the golden sun salutes the morn,"³⁴ "The grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night,"³⁵ and others—imply that he was sometimes out of bed by sunrise. Perhaps, like Benvolio, a troubled mind drove him to walk abroad, and then again he may have been up to join the hunting assembly of the Earl of Southampton at Titchfield, though, I think, with no

great joy at the prospect of the chase, for his admiration and compassion are for the hunted rather than for the hunter. The hounds in Duke's Orsino's dream are "fell and cruel hounds;" the Princess laments that she is about

to spill

The poor deer's blood, that my heart means no ill³⁶

and he refers several times to the pathetic defenselessness of the doe.

Before sunrise foresters inspected approaches to coverts and professed to know by various signs the size and condition of the hart within. First, "Ye may know a great hart by the steps that in England is called trace . . . and if ye see that the form of the foot be of four fingers of breadth, ye may judge it is a great hart by the trace."³⁷ Macbeth, contemplating his bloody purposes, says he will surprise the castle of Macduff and slaughter

His wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls
That trace him in his line.³⁸

Glendower, wordy of skimble-skamble stuff, retorts to the nagging Hotspur:

And bring him out, that is but woman's son,
Can trace me in the tedious ways of art
And hold me pace in deep experiments.³⁹

Sometimes in the early seventeenth century "trace" gave way to "slot," though the latter is not used by Shakspeare.

Other signs to be noted in harbouring a hart were the stepping or gait (a hart or stag walked with steadier stride than a hind and generally placed the points of the hindfeet in the heels of the forefeet); fraying (height at which branches were broken off by the antlers); the rack or entry (where the hart entered covert); and the fumes or droppings. Having blemished the entry (bent down saplings to mark it), and having ringed the covert a few times with the liam hound to make sure that the hart was still within, the foresters returned to report to the assembly. Whereupon everybody fell to breakfast, of "cold capons, loins of veal, neats' tongues powdered, sausages and other savoury nick-

nacks and kickshaws,"⁴⁰ together with ale and wine. This ceremony over, the hunt got under way with much whoop and hurrah.

At the hunting, hounds, riders, and footmen went down wind.

The 'prickers' or mounted horsemen were disposed around the wood on the opposite side to the toils so that the hart might have them in the wind. If, notwithstanding, he should break covert in their direction, the prickers were to 'blench' or head him so as to force him to the toils.⁴¹

Thus, Aaron, who would force Demetrius and Chiron into a toil, says:

My sorr and I will have the wind of you:
Keep there.⁴²

And Beatrice, who would hunt care to a bay, answers Don Pedro when he says she has a merry heart:

Yea, my lord; I thank it, poor fool,
It keeps on the windy side of care.⁴³

"How now, lad! is the wind in that door i' faith? Must we all march?"⁴⁴ asks Falstaff, who, downwind of the Prince and Peto, scents too much exertion ahead.

While the assembly waited, the liam hound, or blood-hound, tender of nose but of no cry, was laid on at the blemishing. When he had found the trail, the running hounds were uncoupled, so-called because they were leashed in pairs or couples. Thus, Nym and Pistol exchange bluster:

Nym: I will cut thy throat, one time or other, in fair terms:
that is the humour of it.
Pist: 'Couple a gorge!
O hound of Crete, think'st thou my spouse to get?⁴⁵

When the hounds were cast in, the hunt was up. The cry, "match'd in mouth like bells, each under each,"⁴⁶ together with a din of routing and blowing, ricocheted from hill to valley. Hamlet, pleased when the Mouse Trap is successfully sprung upon Claudius, asks Horatio, "Would not this, sir, and a forest of feathers . . . get me a fellowship in a cry of players, sir?"⁴⁷ When the fickle populace turns against Coriolanus, Menenius reprimands the curs:

You have made
Good work, you and your cry!⁴⁸

The Bastard, Faulconbridge, speaks of the King's war drums mocking "the deep-mouth'd thunder."⁴⁹ The exuberant Elizabethans took their hunting as boisterously as they took everything else.

(The hunter) hath enough to do to ride or to foot it well with his hounds and to be always near them and to hue and rout well. . . . And then shall he see the hart pass before him, and he shall holloa and rout mightily . . . and when all the hounds have passed before him then shall he ride after them and shall rout and blow as loud as he may with great joy and pleasure . . .⁵⁰

The noise must have driven all small game to cover. Thus Edgar, pursued by his vindictive father,

by the happy hollow of a tree
Escap'd the hunt.⁵¹

The particular hart which had been harboured and unharboured by the liam hound was said to be "singled" from the rest of the herd. Though other deer might break covert, the good hunter and the good hound followed only the trail they had started on. But such hunting was not always easy, as an old hart was wise in the ways of doubling on his trail, running among other deer, and—so it was said—of routing out a younger deer for the hounds to follow while he himself kept thicket. Hence the careful hunter who valued his reputation for woodcraft must be sure that the hart in chase was the identical hart which had been harboured. The ambitious Richard, not a man ever to lose the trail of his prey, says of his father on the battlefield of Towton:

I saw him in the battle range about;
And watched him while he singled Clifford forth⁵²

and later, when he himself meets Clifford:

Now, Clifford, I have singled thee alone.⁵³

Lavinia, discovering the rendezvous of Tamora and Aaron, berates them:

'Tis thought you have a goodly gift in horning;
And to be doubted that your Moor and you
Are singled forth to try experiments:

Jove shield your husband from his hounds to-day!
'Tis pity they should take him for a stag.⁵⁴

Hounds were said to "hunt change," or to be "on a fault" (or default) when they left the trail of the hunted deer for a new one. Many a hound, especially if young and inexperienced, would not strike upon a default, but ran "babbling away without the scent, drawing the rest of the Kennel to follow him."⁵⁵ The propensity of young hounds to lose the scent and to confuse the whole cry is illustrated by the sorely beset Talbot who, watching his army flying before the French, says:

They called us for our fierceness English dogs;
Now, like to whelps, we crying run away.⁵⁶

According to *The Noble Arte*: "If they (hounds) be to busie before they find the Sent good, we say *they Bawle*. If they be to busie after they find good Sent, we say *they Bable*."⁵⁷ Some such babler, hunting change, was once old Gloucester, who enlightens the stolid Kent about the parentage of Edmund. His mother

grew round-wombed, and had indeed, sir, a son for
her cradle ere she had a husband for her bed. Do you smell a
fault?⁵⁸

Prince Henry, in a cynical mood, deprecates the gossip of the general, too noisy over the false scent of his own lack of greatness:

God knows, whether those that bawl out the ruins of thy linen shall
inherit his kingdom; but the midwives say the children are not in
the fault.⁵⁹

Of gossip, always too busy on a scent, Viola's "babbling gossip of the air,"⁶⁰ and Aaron's "long-tongued babbling gossip"⁶¹ are apropos. Theobald's famous emendation, "and a' babbled of green fields," seems eminently Shaksperian in its image of the dying Falstaff upon a last default, the new trail of death.

The chase went on until the weary hart, dry mouthed, antlers thrown back, must turn at bay, literally with his back

to the wall to face the hounds. Such a hart is Antony when, almost at a bay, Maecenas says of him:

When one so great begins to rage, he's hunted
Even to falling. Give him no breath, but now
Make boot of his distraction.⁶²

The leading hounds formed a semi-circle about their prey, and, reinforced by the laggards which had been out-distanced in the chase, turned "the music of the cry" into "the thunder of the bay."⁶³ Shakspeare is fond of the image. Demetrius, having with Chiron perpetrated his evil purpose upon Lavinia, boasts:

I would we had a thousand Roman dames
At such a bay, by turns to serve our lust.⁶⁴

The high-minded Brutus, in his quarrel with Cassius:

I had rather be a dog and bay the moon
Than such a Roman.⁶⁵

To whom Cassius, continuing the image, replies:

Brutus, bay not me:
I'll not endure it: you forget yourself
To hedge me in.⁶⁶

A hart was no mean opponent, as any rash attacker, leaping for the throat, was met by sharp, deadly forehooves, which either killed him or sent him howling away, a "flap-mouth'd mourner,"⁶⁷ who "against the welkin volleys out his voice."⁶⁸ However, the thunder of the bay eventually drew thence the straggling hunters.

And then as far as it (the bay) may be heard every man draweth thither, and the knowing thereof is that the hunter that cometh first, and the hunters (one) after the other they holloa all together, and blow a mote (a long note) and a rechace all at once.⁶⁹

The lovesick Venus, pursuing Adonis,

hearkens for his hounds and for his horn:
Anon she hears them chant it lustily,
And all in haste she coasteth to the cry.⁷⁰

Provided not too many hounds were being disabled, the bay lasted until the hunters, particularly the lord of the manor, came up to be in at the death. Then a huntsman designated by the master of the hunt dispatched the deer by

a thrust behind the shoulder, forward of the heart, with a sword or hunting knife. According to Madden, a rope was thrown around the antlers, the head was pulled back, and the throat cut. Whereupon, after the deer had been laid upon its side,

every man shall blow the death that can blow . . .
and as oft as any hunter beginneth to blow every man shall blow
for the death to make the better noise, and make the hounds better
know the horns and the bay.⁷¹

Then came the taking of assay and the breaking up of the hart, a ceremony in Gaston Phoebus' time fraught with elaborate details of etiquette. By the sixteenth century, however, some of the elaboration had disappeared. The chief huntsman, or the lord, or an honored guest, took assay by cutting a slit somewhat below the brisket to test the goodness and thickness of the flesh. "Let us make assay upon him,"⁷² says the third Bandit, seeking Timon's gold. Laid on its back, the deer was skinned by an appointed huntsman, who, if he were really *au fait*, must be so dainty of his craft as not even to turn up his sleeves and not to bespatter himself with a single drop of blood.

The carcass was not thrown to the hounds, but was most carefully disposed of, various parts in order of excellence being allotted to the hunters according to rank. Such knowledge heightens the insulting implications of Demetrius when he says of Lysander, "I had rather give his carcass to my hounds."⁷³

Followed then the quarry, or rewarding of the hounds with the paunch, from the French *curée*, so-called because originally given on the hide or cuir of the hart. By the time of Shakspeare the word had acquired the additional connotations of a heap of slaughtered game ("This quarry cries on havoc")⁷⁴ and also of living game as an object of the chase. In the Folio *Macbeth* the Sergeant, reporting to Duncan of Macdonwald's rebellion, says:

And fortune, on his damn'd Quarry smiling,
Show'd like a rebel's whore.⁷⁵

Though modern editions have emended "quarry" to "quar-

rel," the former is the more vigorous image, whatever the connotation, with which the subsequent "unseam'd him from the nave to the chaps" is thoroughly consistent.

The deer having been broken up, the various parts having been allotted their eligible recipients, perquisites having been reserved for foresters, huntsmen, and kennel men ("Ay, here's a deer whose skin's a keeper's fee"),⁷⁶ the hounds were recoupled, and the chief huntsman wound "a strake of nine to call the company home."⁷⁷

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¹Shakspere's allusions to liming of twigs to snare birds often glance at the lack of sportsmanship of the device. Polonius' "Ay, springes to catch woodcocks" is a contemptuous sniff at foolish people, and also, perhaps, at an ungentlemanly manner of hunting. There are not over a dozen allusions to angling in all the plays; the fox is chiefly a symbol of cunning and lack of courage.

²Dame Juliana Berners. *The Boke of St. Albans*. 1486. Reproduced in Facsimile by William Blades. Elliot Stock. London. 1899.

³John Chamberlain, that indefatigable letter writer, observer, gossip, and occasional hunter, shows us how common was the use of hunting terms. His 479 extant letters (from 1597 to 1626) are shot through not only with mention of actual hunting, but also with figurative usage (similar to Shakspere's): "well coursed," "full cry," "laide a traine," "a leash of Secretaries," "mewed up," "no news worth the flience at," etc. Cf. *The Letters of John Chamberlain*. Edited by Norman Egbert McClure. Memoirs XII, Part I. The American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia. 1939.

⁴D. H. Madden. *The Diary of Master William Silence*. Longmans. 1897.

⁵*Midsummer Night's Dream*. IV, 1, 143.

⁶*The Master of Game*, by Edward, Second Duke of York. Edited by Wm. A. and F. Baillie-Grohman. Duffield and Company. New York. 1909. p. 128.

⁷*Much Ado*. II, 3, 61-3.

⁸*Ibid.* I, 1, 242-45.

⁹*The Knightes Tale*. line 2279.

¹⁰*Titus Andronicus*. I, 1, 492-4.

¹¹Dame Juliana Berners. *Op. cit.* *The Noble Arte* concurs, but *The Master of Game* says: "... the second year a bullock ... the third year a brocket; the fourth year a staggard, the fifth a stag; the sixth year a hart of ten and then first is he chaseable, for always before shall be called but rascal or folly," p. 29.

¹²*Henry IV.* IV, 2, 42.

¹³*Ibid.* IV, 2, 70.

¹⁴*Henry IV.* II, 4, 223-5. The association of ideas—here of "rascal" with "little"—may be observed again and again in Shakspere. Here it tickles the fancy, as Falstaff is anything but lean!

¹⁵*The Master of Game*, p. 140.

¹⁶*Ibid.* p. 204.

¹⁷*Troilus and Cressida*. IV, 5, 30-31.

¹⁸*Troilus and Cressida*. IV, 5, 45-6.

¹⁹*All's Well*. I, 3, 54-9.

²⁰*Othello*. IV, 1, 60.

²¹*The Master of Game*. p. 27.

²²Gervase Markham. *Country Contentments*. 1611. Tenth Edition. 1668. p. 23.

²³*Romeo and Juliet*. I, 1, 72.

²⁴*As You Like It*. III, 3, 49-52.

²⁵N. E. D. "Coke *On Litt.* 378 A Forest and Chase are not but a Parke must be inclosed."

²⁶*Ibid.* "1598. Manwood *Lawes Forest.* i l. 1a, A Forrest is certain Territories of wooddy grounds and fruitfull pastures, priueleged for wild beasts and foules of Forrest, Chase and Warren to rest and abide in, in the safe protection of the King, for his princely delight and pleasure."

²⁷*Merry Wives*. IV, 4, 28-9.

²⁸*Richard II.* III, 1, 16-17.

²⁹*Richard II.* III, 1, 22-27.

³⁰*Cymbeline*. III, 1, 19-20.

³¹*Venus and Adonis*. lines 229-31.

³²*Hamlet*. I, 4, 28. "Park" and "pale" (as both noun and verb) are common in Shakspeare.

³³Apropos the quality of Elizabethan horses, Cf. my "Roan Barbary". *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin*. Vol. 15, No. 2, April, 1940.

³⁴*Titus Andronicus*. II, 1, 5.

³⁵*Romeo and Juliet*. II, 3, 1.

³⁶*Love's Labour's Lost*. IV, 1, 35-6.

³⁷*The Master of Game*. pp. 137-8.

³⁸*Macbeth*. IV, 1, 152-3.

³⁹*Henry IV.* III, 1, 47-9.

⁴⁰D. H. Madden. *Op. cit.* p. 14.

⁴¹*Ibid.* p. 33.

⁴²*Titus Andronicus*. IV, 2, 133-4.

⁴³*Much Ado*. II, 317-18.

⁴⁴*Henry IV.* III, 102-3.

⁴⁵*Henry V.* II, 1, 73-7.

⁴⁶*Midsummer Night's Dream*. IV, 1, 127-8.

⁴⁷*Hamlet*. III, 2, 286, 289.

⁴⁸*Coriolanus*. IV, 6, 148.

⁴⁹*King John*. V, 2, 173.

⁵⁰*The Master of Game*. pp. 7, 10, 171.

⁵¹*Lear*. II, 3, 1-3.

⁵²*Henry VI.* II, 1, 11-12.

⁵³*Ibid.* II, 4, 1.

⁵⁴*Titus Andronicus*. II, 2, 67-71.

⁵⁵Gervase Markham, *Op. cit.* p. 22.

⁵⁶*Henry VI.* I, 5, 25-6.

⁵⁷D. H. Madden. *Op. cit.* p. 37.

⁵⁸*Lear*. I, 1, 11-16.

⁵⁹*Henry IV.* II, 2, 28-31.

⁶⁰*Twelfth Night*. I, 5, 292.

⁶¹*Titus Andronicus*. IV, 2, 150.

⁶²*Antony and Cleopatra*. IV, 1, 6-9.

⁶³D. H. Madden. *Op. cit.* p. 60.

⁶⁴*Titus Andronicus*. IV, 2, 41-2.

⁶⁵*Julius Caesar*. IV, 3, 27-8.

⁶⁶*Julius Caesar*. IV, 3, 28-30.

⁶⁷*Venus and Adonis*. 1. 920.

⁶⁸*Ibid.* 1. 921.

⁶⁹*The Master of Game*. p. 173.

⁷⁰*Venus and Adonis*. 11. 868-70.

⁷¹*The Master of Game*. p. 175.

⁷²*Timon of Athens*. IV, 3, 406.

⁷³*Midsummer Night's Dream*. III, 2, 64.

⁷⁴*Hamlet*. V, 2, 378.

⁷⁵*Macbeth*. I, 2, 14.

⁷⁶*Henry VI.* III, 1, 22.

⁷⁷D. H. Madden. *Op. cit.* p. 66.

THE INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT

By ARTHUR HEINE

SHAKSPERE was mighty careless in his geography and he tossed anachronisms about with marked prodigality; so we should not be dismayed to find him transferring a bit of suburban London to Old Vienna and to "this bare island" in the seventh sea.

Commentators have noted the influence of Warwickshire upon Shakspeare's imagination, especially in *The Shrew* and *The Merry Wives* and I wonder if the imprint of the author's London haunts cannot be traced in *Measure for Measure* and *The Tempest*.

While reading *Measure for Measure* at The Shakespeare Club of New York last Winter, we became intrigued by the great detail the poet used in describing Angelo's Viennese home environments, a typical demesne of XVI. century London.

When Mariana unveils and tells of her clandestine tryst, she *twice* defines the place of meeting as Angelo's "garden-house."

This is the body
That took away the match from Isabel,
And did supply thee at thy garden-house
In her imagin'd person.

and, my good lord,
But Tuesday night last in his garden-house
He knew me as a wife.

The Elizabethan "garden-house" was more or less a well-accounted summer-house, quite different from our present-day structures. It was, indeed, a comfortable retreat where its owner could in the tranquility of nature enjoy relaxation and social pleasures. Hotspur refers to such a house:

I had rather live
With cheese and garlic in a windmill, far,
Than feed on cates and have him talk to me
In any summer-house in Christendom.

Because these garden-houses were screened from prying

eyes, they became in popular opinion, retreats that served chiefly for encounters of gallantry and immoral purposes, as touched upon in the following references:

Now god thank you, sweet lady. If you
have any friend, or garden-house where you may
employ a poor gentleman as your friend, I
am yours to command. (*The London Prodigal*, V, i)

And a gloss informs us that "A garden-house is defined as a summer-house surrounded by trees and flowers; these places were used in former days for stolen meetings in affairs of gallantry."

In the feelds and Suburbs of the Cities thei have Gardens, either palled or walled around about very high, with their Harbors and Bowers fit for the purpose. And leaſt thei have their Banqueting houſes with Galleries, Turrets, and what not elſe therein ſumptuouſly erected wherein thei may (and doubtleſſe doe) many of them plaie the filthy perſon. And for their Gardens are locked, ſome of them have three or fower keyes a peace, whereof one they keepe for themſelves, the others their paramours have to goe in before them, leaſte happely they ſhould be perceived, for then were all thir ſport daſht. (Phillip Stubbes' *Anatomy of the Abuses in England*, 1583)

And, finally, mention is made of an old citizen

Who, coming from the
Curtain in Shoreditch ſneaketh
To ſome garden noted houſe of ſinne. (*Skialethia*, 1598)

At the moated grange, Isabella tells of the arrangements she had made with Angelo and then gives the two keys to the Duke who in turn hands them to Mariana. Isabella proceeds to orientate her on ways and means to reach the rendezvous:

He hath a garden circummur'd with brick,
Whose western ſide is with a vineyard back'd;
And to that vineyard is a planchéd gate
That makes his opening with this larger key.
This other doth command a little door
Which from the vineyard to the garden leads;
There have I made my promiſe

Upon the heavy middle of the night
To call upon him.

This itinerary appears a hard way to hit, as devious as

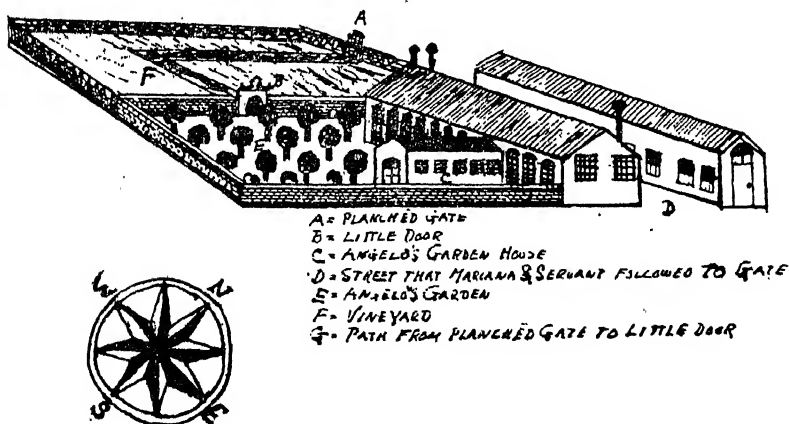
Gobbo's path to Shylock's house, and the Duke becomes rightly doubtful. Isabella takes pains to reassure him with

I have ta'en a due and wary note upon it:
With whispering and most guilty diligence,
In action all of precept, he did show me
The way twice o'er.

It is all too precise to convince me that this was the offspring of the author's imagination and not taken from some home and garden with which he was well acquainted.

After several vain attempts to draw a diagram embracing the brick-walled garden, the planched gate, the small door, the path that led through the vineyard and finally Angelo's garden-house, I was fortunate in finding in the end lining paper of Alden Brooks' *Will Shakspeare and the Dyer's Hand* a contemporary engraving by Wenzel Hollar, a Bohemian etcher, of the Southwark District of London.

From this print, I made the accompanying rough sketch visualizing the supposable roundabout path that Mariana and her servant followed from the street, through the planched gate into the vineyard to reach the smaller-keyed door leading into the garden, where the servant waited while she entered the garden-house to fulfill her token of a "repair i' the dark."



It is all there; taken from Southwark, and I am tempted to believe that the conception of Angelo's garden-house set down in Old Vienna was inspired or rather copied from the very environments of this well-known district of Shakspeare's day.

In pursuing my topic further, I turn now to *The Tempest* and take up the details of the exterior of Prospero's cell.

Ariel (*Act IV, i*) tells us the prisoners are confined "In the line-grove which weather-fends your cell." Prospero had directed Ariel

The trumpery in my house, go bring it hither
For stale to catch these thieves.

and when he returns with the "glistening apparel," Prospero says: "Come, hang them on this line." And it would appear from this that the "trumpery" is hung low upon the trees of the line-grove to tempt Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo to assume the wardrobe placed to snare them and eventually to "catch them with the goods."

There is much punning upon "line," a word that is used successively by Prospero, Ariel and the three conspirators until it assumes to our mind the meaning of a line or grove of trees in a state of care and cultivation, specifically planted to weather-fend Prospero's cell.

This seems a strange particularization for a wild and practically uninhabitable island, but if we glance again at Hollar's engraving we find a striking example of a grove or line of trees exactly weather-fending the garden-house.

If the skeptic would judge this as a mere coincidence, let us accompany Ariel and the three culprits on their way to the line-grove:

At last I left them
I' the filthy mantled pool beyond your cell,
There dancing up to their chins, that the foul lake
O'erstunk their feet.

The Tempest is a play of sheer witchery and it is difficult to understand how the author could, solely out of his imagination, toss in an incongruous detail of horse manure to mar the sublimity of enchantment, without any apparent purpose.

"Beyond" the circummur'd garden of *Measure for Measure* and "beyond" Prospero's cell of *The Tempest* there stood just such a foul horse pool in Southwark, and nearby was the notorious ducking stool, where victims were set "dancing up to their chins" — an expression especially applied to this instrument of punishment and torture.

To the mind of this essayist, all these pertinently worded details anent the garden-house, the line-grove and the filthy mantled pool give to "airy nothing a local habitation and a name."

Even if the conception of Angelo's garden-house and Prospero's "poor cell" were inspired or copied from the imprint on the poet's mind or eye from actual contact in the Southwark District, he still stands undimmed in his own right.

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WHO IS E.K.?

By DR. RAYMOND JENKINS

(*Conclusion*)

E.K. and Spenser make the same errors, in some instances rather egregious ones. But another reason for regarding them as one person is that their learning, their literary ideals and convictions, their knowledge of foreign and native authors are curiously identical. When Spenser wrote the *Calender* he was fired by the ambition to naturalize the pastoral in England; he wished to make sure, according to E.K.'s statement, "that in this kind . . . we might be equal to the learned of other nations."⁵⁹ For Spenser's heart and head were full. He had things to say which he only could say in the manner which suited him. To get a fair hearing for his first great appeal to the public, he had to have his sponsors. Leicester and Sidney were too far above him; Harvey was too clumsy and egotistic. The only one who could write an adequate commendatory letter like the Epistle to Harvey was Spenser himself. Would he not therefore decide that his mouth only would blow his own trumpet? Only the poet himself, and no friend or intermediary, could adequately exalt the *new* poetry. The Epistle therefore is the poet's own preface to the *Calender*, as the letter to Raleigh is to the *Faerie Queene*. For Spenser, like Wordsworth, aimed to create the taste by which he hoped to be enjoyed. The stylistic qualities of the *Calender* which E.K. acclaims in the lines

his wittinesse in deuising, his pittinesse in uttering, his complaints
of love so louely, his discourses of pleasure so pleasantly, his pas-
toral rudenesse, his morall wisesnesse, his dewe obseruing of De-
corum euery where⁶⁰

bear, like the letters to Harvey, in their substance and in their alliterative excess the stamp of Spenser's quaint, redundant prose. The whole letter, as well as the Argument, exhibits Spenser's fondness for parading his learning; in its ostentatious erudition it is like the Gloss with its incessant references to the Latin figures of rhetoric.

The Epistle is primarily Spenser's defense and explanation of the archaism of the *Calender*. For in his poetry Spenser wished to levy upon all the resources of the vernacular that he might make it equal in power and reputation to the tongues of the continent, especially French and Italian. In condemning the practice of indiscriminate adoption of foreign words and thereby making "our English tongue a gallimaufrey or hodgepodge of al other speeches,"⁶¹ the writer of the introductory letter is inveighing not so much against the use of words of foreign derivation as against the common contempt among the half-learned for native English words. Spenser held that English was not "bare and barrein" but "both ful enough for prose & stately enough for verse."⁶² Spenser would also hold that obsolete words "bring great grace and . . . authoritie" to the verse, and he would defend the archaic, dialectal words of the *Calendar* as "English, and also vsed of most excellent authors and most famous Poetes."⁶³ Spenser would deem it his "special prayse . . . that he hath laboured to restore, as to theyr rightfull heritage such good and naturall English words, as have ben long time out of vse & almost cleare disherited."⁶⁴ In the use of archaic words there is, in fact, no inconsistency between E.K.'s position in the Epistle and Spenser's practice in the *Calender*. This letter seems, indeed, Spenser's articulate voice speaking to his readers.

The positions of E.K. and Spenser are likewise identical in their attitude to the poet's calling and to the high ends of poetry. The enthusiastic tone of the argument of *October* and certain notes in the Gloss regarding the poet's inspiration do not seem the tame voice of the mere commentator but the earnest accent of the poet who is imbued with convictions regarding the sublime importance of his vocation. Again and again in his work Spenser proclaims that only poetry bestows earthly immortality. This theme bursts forth in the first four lines of the epilogue of the *Calender*. In the *Ruines of Time* the poet again exclaims:

For deeds doe die, how ever noblie donne,
And thoughts of men do as themselves decay,
But wise wordes taught in numbers for to runne,
Recorded by the Muses, live for ay.⁶⁵

The theme of these lines is repeated in E.K.'s gloss in *December* in explanation of the missing emblem:⁶⁶ "The meaning whereof is that all things perish and come to theyr last end, but workes of learned wits and monuments of Poetry abide for ever." In the gloss of *October* E.K. thus begins and ends his remarks on *For ever*:

He sheweth the cause, why Poetes were wont be had in such honor of noble men; that is, that by them their worthines & valor shold through theyr famous Posies be commended to all posterities. wherefore it is sayd, that Achilles had neuer bene so famous, as he is, but for Homeres immortal verses. . . . Such honor haue Poetes alwayes found in the sight of princes and noble men. which this author here very well sheweth, as els where more notably.

The last clause of this quotation is doubtless a reference to the "booke called the English Poete" which, according to the *argument* of *October*, is an expression of Spenser's theory of poetry. In this argument appears a declaration of Spenser's heartfelt conviction regarding poetry: "diuine gift and heauenly instinct . . . poured into the witte by a certaine and celestiaall inspiration."⁶⁷

The knowledge of classic, Italian, and native authors which E.K. evinces in the Gloss appears almost identical with Spenser's knowledge of these authors as shown in the *Calender* and in his other works. To scholars who have argued for the identity of E.K. and Spenser it has seemed astonishing that the poet and the editor of the Gloss seem equally versed in Platonic philosophy. In his *Discourse of Civil Life*, Lodowick Bryskett, Spenser's intimate friend, had declared the poet "not onely perfect in the Greek tongue, but also very well read in Philosophie both morall and naturall." In the Gloss E.K. shows the influence of the *Republic*, and he refers to the *Laws* and the dialogues *Alcibiades* and *Phaedo*. Spenser and E.K. are equally well-read in Theocritus, Plutarch, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, Mantuan, Petrarch, Marot, Gower, Chaucer, Lydgate, Skelton, and Gascoigne. Both also seem equally versed in Greek, Latin, Italian, and their native English. E.K.'s explanations of the emblems of the eclogues particularly illustrate their identical familiarity with foreign literature. Concerning

the two Greek emblems for *May*, for instance, E.K. comments: "Both these Emblemes make one whole Hexametre."

What seems especially remarkable is that E.K. and Spenser are equally versed in native authors. Spenser palpably derived the homely pastoral name, Colin Clout, from John Skelton; E.K. has also "sene a Poesie of M. Skeltons under that title." E.K. is as great an admirer of George Gascoigne as were Spenser and Harvey. In the gloss of *November* E.K. under *Philomele* commends Gascoigne as "a wittie gentleman and very chefe of our late rymers;" like Harvey and Spenser, E.K. is well acquainted with Gascoigne's *Complainte of Philumene*. But E.K. and Spenser are also thoroughly versed in Gower, Lydgate, and Chaucer; in fact, E.K. knows both the words and the lines that the "new Poete" derives from the earlier poets. In the gloss of *July* E.K. writes regarding *glitterand*: "Glittering. a Participle vsed sometime in Chaucer, but altogether in I. Goore." Great indeed, as Dr. J. L. Lowes shows, was Spenser's debt to Gower in his *Masque of the Seven Deadly Sins*.⁶⁸ In the gloss of *February* E.K. annotates *Gride*: "perced: an olde word much vsed of Lidgate, but not found (that I know of) in Chaucer." Also, in the gloss of *November* E.K. explains *welked*: "shortened or empayred. As the Moone being in the waine is sayde of Lidgate to welk." Professor Herford suggests that Spenser borrowed the phrase *painted words* of *February* from Lydgate's *Life and Death of Hector*.⁶⁹

The admiration of E.K. for Chaucer is intimated in the first lines of his letter to Harvey: "VNCOVTHE VNKISTE, sayde the olde famous Poete Chaucer: whom for his excellencie and wonderfull skil in making, his scholler Lidgate, a worthy scholler of so excellent a maister calleth the Loadestarre of our Language." That *uncouth* should be *unknowe* to be correctly quoted from *Troilus and Criseyde* should not lead us to conclude that E.K. is less a scholar than Spenser; in fact, this error in quotation, natural to one who is quoting from memory, is typically Spenserian. In the note after *Tityrus* in the gloss of *February*

E.K. again seems to give utterance to Spenser's reverence for Chaucer: "I suppose he meane Chaucer, whose prayse for pleasaunt tales cannot dye, so long as the memorie of hys name shal live, & the name of Poetrie shal endure." In the introduction to his edition of the *Calender* Professor Herford writes: "It might almost seem that Spenser [to be accurate Professor Herford should write *E.K.*] borrowed from Chaucer nothing but his sly way of acknowledging indebtedness chiefly where it was not due," and he declares that there is in the *Calender* "scarcely any direct reminiscence of the master himself."⁷⁰ This assertion is a decided understatement for both the notes of E.K. and of Professors Herford and Renwick indicate that Spenser used many archaic words because he found them either in Chaucer or in works like *The Plowman's Tale*, which he believed were written by Chaucer. E.K. knows that Spenser derives many of his terms from his master. In the gloss of *February* after *Heardgromes* appears the note: "Chaucers verse almost whole;" and a glance at the lines in *The House of Fame* shows that Spenser has taken over Chaucer's very rhymes.⁷¹ Again, in *February* E.K. defines *tottie*, which Spenser doubtless took from Chaucer's *Reves Tale*, as 'wavering;" and *sterne strife* E.K. attributes to Chaucer, though it is probably a reminiscence of the pseudo-Chaucerian *Plowman's Tale*. Also, in *September* E.K. notes after *pruie* or *pert*: "openly sayth Chaucer" whereas he doubtless remembers *pruie* *noe* *perte* of the pseudo-Chaucerian *La Belle Dame Sans Mercy*.⁷² After *Spell* in the gloss of *March* E.K. quotes Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* from memory. E.K. likewise refers frequently to Chaucer in *May*. He defines *Her* as "theyr, as vseth Chaucer." *Clincke* as "a key hole. Whose diminutive is clicket, vsed of Chaucer for a Key," and *Cheuisaunce* as "sometime of Chaucer vsed for gaine: sometime of other for spoyle, or bootie, or enterprise, and sometime for chiefdome." Indeed, E.K. is as well versed in Chaucer as Spenser and, like Spenser in the *Veue*, he loves to parade his linguistic accomplishments as well as his curious learning.

These illustrations from the Gloss show that E.K. knows with some accuracy whether a word is from Lydgate or

Chaucer or Gower;⁷³ they also intimate that Spenser's words of Middle English origin were, as E.K. says, "vsed of most excellent authors and famous Poetes." The poet used these strange and obsolete Middle English words because "they bring," to quote E.K., "great grace and auctoritie to the verse." A study of the diction of the *Calender* makes certain that Spenser read the old folios of Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower—as Keats read his Spenser—with a keen eye for quaint and picturesque words. Dr. J. W. Draper avers that "the old authors were for Spenser a very mine of verbal curiosities," that Spenser knew his Middle English grammar, that "Spenser's knowledge of Middle English seems to have been considerably wider and more accurate than many scholars . . . have allowed."⁷⁴ Since Elizabethan annotators had no convenient glosses to Chaucer or Gower, Professor Draper rightly declares that the knowledge that a glossator must have had to follow in his [Spenser's] recondite footsteps must indeed have been enormous." Dr. Draper lists over one hundred words of the *Calender* which are of Middle English origin. All of these words are correctly glossed by E.K. Dr. Draper declares that E.K.'s "meanings jibe with the text" and they "also appear with the same meaning in the body of literature from which Spenser could easily have culled them." Is it not strange that E.K.'s knowledge of Middle English literature is identical with that of the poet? Is it probable that a mere editor, a typical scholar of the Renaissance, would be as accurate in his explanations of obsolete Middle English words as the poet himself could have been? The aptness of E.K.'s definitions, especially since no glosses or dictionaries of Middle English existed in his time, appears therefore quite impossible unless E.K. is identified with the poet himself. Sheer guesses, for were E.K. other than Spenser he would have had to resort to sheer guesses in many instances, are never so uncannily accurate. Professor Draper avers: "One can not imagine such a multitude of good guesses based on no previous knowledge of the word. . . . That E.K., unaided, either knew or guessed correctly in the vast majority of these cases surely passes belief."⁷⁵

But E.K. not only glosses Spenser's Middle English

words correctly; he also properly glosses colloquial and dialectal Elizabethan words as well as learned words and neologisms from the poet's own brain. Though Spenser employs considerable poetic license in the *Calender* and, as Professor Draper says "shifts at will sense, syntax, and pronunciation, sometimes for his rhyme or meter, sometimes, apparently, from caprice or forgetfulness,"⁷⁶ E.K. never loses the linguistic scent. The word *stoure*, for instance, which Professor Dodge considers "the most flexible of Spenser's words" is properly confused by E.K. with *stoundes* in the gloss of *May* since the context demands it. *Steven* is appropriately glossed as *noyse*.⁷⁷ E.K. correctly glosses more than a dozen dialectal words which do not appear in literary use before the publication of the *Calender*. But in glossing *weanall waste* he and Spenser appear similarly confused regarding the exact meaning of *wennel* in East Anglian. E.K. glosses *A Weanall waste* "a weaned youngling."⁷⁸ This gloss is, of course, appropriate to the eclogue. But the dialectal *wennel*, as Professor Draper points out, is a noun and means an animal newly weaned, a weanling. *Waste* means a thin lamb. It is quite obvious that Spenser and E.K. mistook the noun *wennel* for the participial adjective *weaned*. E.K. likewise glosses *In derring doe* "In manhoode and cheualrie."⁷⁹ Except in the sixteenth edition of Lydgate this phrase from Middle English ever appears as *dorryng do*. This misprint in Lydgate accounts for the form in Spenser, and yet E.K. simply glosses it, failing to notice that it is a decided variant.

But E.K.'s correct definitions of dialectal words as well as those culled by Spenser from Middle English poets are even less remarkable than his ability to define correctly several terms which Spenser coined. There are, indeed, many anomalous coinages in the *Calender* which E.K. could have found in no contemporary dictionaries. Spenser uses the word *shole*⁸⁰ which had not appeared in print before that date, yet E.K. correctly glosses it: "a multitude; taken of fishe, whereof some going in great companies, are sayde to swimme in a shole." The coinage *forehaile* is correctly glossed "drawe or distresse."⁸¹ But Spenser also coins several words from foreign tongues, and E.K. glosses all of them

exactly. For instance, the word *crumenall* from the Latin *crumena*, here used for the first time in print, is properly glossed "purse."⁸² Likewise, the word *cantion*, coined by E.K. in the gloss of *October*, from the Latin *cantionem* suggests that he and the poet are equally learned and equally apt in coinages from the Latin. In the same eclogue *stanck*, from the Italian *stanco*, is rightly glossed "wearie or fainte."⁸³ E.K. aptly defines *chamfred*⁸⁴ as "chapt or wrinkled," and yet the only previous instance of this coinage noted by *N E D* appears in Cooper's *Thesaurus*, a volume which was much used by both Spenser and E.K. That E.K.'s knowledge of Latin, Italian, French, Middle English, and colloquial Elizabethan English is identical with that of the poet inclines one to conclude that Spenser did more than inspire the notes. The glossing of Spenser's coinages is so happy that one could hardly expect them from any one except the author. Dr. Draper, who hesitates to question the identification of E.K. with Edward Kirke, actually concludes as much: "We must suppose either that the words were more common than the records would have us suppose, or that E.K. was rather lucky in guessing the sense from the context, or that Spenser had a considerable hand in the glossing."⁸⁵

Even E.K.'s supposed errors as well as his false etymologies further support the view that E.K. is an anonym of the poet. Despite the contentions of recent editors of the *Calender* who argue that E.K. and Spenser were not one person because E.K. misinterpreted Spenser's lines in a few glosses, it is impossible to prove in any instance that E.K. did not provide the interpretation that the poet intended. On this point Dr. Draper says: "Of the ten possible examples of mis-glossing, all but two or three are quite uncertain; and the rest seem to be careless blunders, attributable quite as probably to Spenser as to E.K."⁸⁶ In her article "E.K. is Spenser"⁸⁷ Mrs. Agnes Kuersteiner has effectively countered Professor Herford's allegation⁸⁸ that E.K. mistook the evident meaning of Spenser in his gloss of *wonne*, *welked*, *herse*, and *glen*.⁸⁹ With respect to E.K.'s identification of *glen* with "a country hamlet or borough," Dr. Draper says that it is "possibly an intentional error de-

signed to cover the somewhat too definitely Northern suggestion of *glen* . . . Spenser is as liable to have made it himself as E.K.⁹⁰ Certainly the sense given by E.K. suits the text, and it may illustrate Spenser's endeavor to mystify the reader. Of *inly*⁹¹ which is glossed as "entirely" one may assert with Professor Draper: "the mistake looks rather like an error of sheer carelessness."⁹² Or one may think that Spenser, in the guise of E.K., glossed it thus because he took the significance of "entirely" to be essentially identical with "inwardly" since he adds "afforesayde" to this gloss of *Inly* in *September*. Professor Herford objects to E.K.'s gloss of *queint* as "strange."⁹³ He notes: "Queint has here rather the common Elizabethan and occasional M.E. sense of 'fine,' 'rare,' with the association of artistic elaboration."⁹⁴ But Spenser uses *queint* in the sense of "strange" in the *Faerie Queene*.⁹⁵ When the poet himself supports E.K.'s gloss, one does not need to accept Professor Herford's elaborate definition. Again, Professor Renwick writes of E.K.'s gloss of *Underfonge* "Vndermyne and deceive by false suggestion":⁹⁶ "E.K. mistakes the thing: *vnderfonge* means only *seize, take*, as at *November 22* and the *Faerie Queene*, v, ii, 7." But Professor Dodge and Herford as well as *NED* disagree with Professor Renwick; all accept E.K.'s definition and all quote to support them the precise passage in the *Faerie Queene* that Professor Renwick cites. And any reader of the lines in the *Calender* or the *Faerie Queene* will admit that E.K.'s definition is the more significant. Of *Tamburins*, glossed by E.K.: "an olde kind of instrument which of some is supposed to be the clarion,"⁹⁷ Professor Renwick notes: "E.K. is guessing. Spenser may have meant the French *tamburin*, rather than the familiar English tabor. The modern *tambourine* is a much later importation." But *NED* notes: "It is not clear what Spenser and Jonson (*Sad Shepherd* I, iii) meant by *tamburin*." Mrs. Kuersteiner believes that neither E.K. nor Spenser knew what tambourines were; she suggests that Spenser had heard the word but that he did not associate it with the proper instrument, and that his confusion is indicated by E.K.'s note saying the instrument might be the clarion.⁹⁸

E.K.'s false etymologies are also precisely what we

should expect of Spenser. Though declaring that E.K. is a bold etymologist, Professor Herford admits that his mistakes in etymology "may well have been shared by Spenser."⁹⁹ Two of E.K.'s striking derivations are eclogues from *aigon logoi* (Gr) [goatherds tales] in the *Generall Argument* and of elf from guelf, and goblin from Ghibeline in the *June* gloss. Of the latter Professor Herford says: "E.K.'s explanation of *elf* and *goblin* is a valuable specimen of 'half-learned' etymology among the Elizabethans."¹⁰⁰ The word *frenne* (*April* 28) is from the O.E. *fremde* but, as Professor Herford says, "Spenser probably took it [as E.K. certainly did] for a contraction of Fr. *forein* (L. *foris*)."¹⁰¹ Also, E.K. is again wrong in saying of *emprise*, which is from Old French *emprise*: "for enterprise Per Syncopen."¹⁰² The reason why E.K. thought *underfong*¹⁰³ meant entrap or beguile is, again, doubtless given by Professor Draper: "What is more probable, Spenser, led on by a false etymology, misread his Middle English."¹⁰⁴ E.K.'s etymology is again awry in his derivation of the *Fever Lurdane* from Lord Dane.¹⁰⁵ That E.K. derived this false etymology from Holinshed is highly probable because, as Professor Renwick points out,¹⁰⁶ the account of E.K. and of Holinshed of the reason why the Britons came to hold the Lord Danes in contempt is identical in substance. Since Professor Draper has shown that Spenser in his *Veue* apparently derived certain false etymologies from Holinshed,¹⁰⁷ the fact that E.K. also derived this one is likely. After a thorough consideration of the language of the *Calender*—Middle English, dialectal, learned, and coined words as well as false etymologies—Dr. Draper comes to this conclusion: "The evidence of the lexicography points to a very large share of Spenserian authorship of the glosses. . . . I think, undoubtedly, Spenser inspired, if not actually wrote, most of the entries."¹⁰⁸

The upshot of these arguments is that Spenser is E.K.: The instances in which Spenser and Harvey endeavor to publicize themselves and make game of their readers by mystifying hoaxes and pseudonyms; E.K.'s unstinted praise of and uncanny familiarity with the published and unpublished works of Spenser and Harvey; biographical evidence

that Spenser was in London when the *Calender* was in press; the fact that Edward Kirke is never mentioned by Spenser and neither Edward Kirke nor E.K. by Harvey; the many patent advantages of the anonym E.K.; the ingenuity of the poet in appearing to make the editorial role of E.K. consistent; the palpable blinks of E.K.; the common sources of Spenser and E.K. in contemporary Latin dictionaries and in Badius' gloss on Mantuan; the striking similarity of two passages in reference to Petrarch and to Cicero in the Spenser-Harvey Letters and in E.K.'s Gloss; the identical error of Spenser and of E.K. regarding the signs of the zodiac; the reappearance of themes and stories in E.K.'s Gloss in the poetry of Spenser; the identical errors in classic myth in the *Calender*, in other poems of Spenser, and in E.K.'s Gloss; the identity of learning and of literary convictions of both Spenser and E.K.; the correct glossing by E.K. of learned, dialectal, and obsolete Middle English words as well as neologisms of the poet; the mistaken definitions and false etymologies of Spenser and E.K. Everything assigned to E.K. in the *Calender* is, quite as much as the twelve eclogues, the unmistakable projection of the mind of Edmund Spenser. The Epistle, the arguments, and the Gloss are not the product of a "different, less flexible mind" as Professor Renwick says, but of the same supple mind that created the *Calender*. If this conclusion is valid, E.K.'s contributions to the *Calender* greatly illumine the life and character of the poet, Edmund Spenser.

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⁵⁹W. L. Renwick's edition, p. 8.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 5. Of the latter half of this long first paragraph of the Epistle, Professor Osgood in his *Variorum* edition (p. 238) comments: "No ear attuned to the Spenserian cadence, no mind accustomed to Spenserian imagery, can fail to recognize Spenser's voice in this passage."

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁵LL. 400-404.

⁶⁶Professor Renwick points out that the emblem which is printed in modern editions first appeared in the edition of Hughes in 1715.

⁶⁷This conviction regarding the divine inspiration of the poet, again repeated in the *emblem* of *October*, echoes the phrasing of Cicero's oration *pro Archia*, to which

E.K. refers rather frequently in his Gloss; the word *endousiasmos* (Greek) appears in Cicero's letter *ad Quintum fratrem*. Cf. Renwick's *Commentary*, p. 216.

In commenting on the sources of *October* and its gloss, Professor Osgood in his Variorum edition (p. 371) writes: "Throughout the eclogue and the Gloss the great power of poetry and music over the soul is recognized; Spenser, like Plato, wishes to 'restrain the lust of lawlesse youth' and 'true vertue to aduance.' Confused and inaccurate as the references in the Gloss to the Platonic writings are, they yet suggest that these ideas may have come originally, in some measure, from reading in *The Republic* and the *Laws*." Professor Osgood also believes (p. 392) that in the passage in the *Veue* (Globe ed., p. 639), referring to Aristotle on Cyrus and the music of the Lydians, Spenser "seems to have had in mind Plato, *Laws* 3. 694-700."

⁶⁸"Spenser and the *Mirour de l'Omme*," *PMLA* 29 (1914), 388-452. E.K. defines *corbe* (February 56) as crooked. Professor Herford notes that *courbe* appears in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* 1. 99.

⁶⁹Edition of *Calender*, p. 103.

⁷⁰Intro. xxxvii.

⁷¹Book III. 134-36.

⁷²Ll. 174-76.

⁷³In Professor Moore Smith's edition of Harvey's *Marginalia* (p. 226) is a note which appears in Harvey's copy of Speght's edition of Chaucer (1598): "Amongst the sonnes of the Inglish Muses; Gower, Lidgate, Heywood, Phaer, & a fewe other famous memorie, ar meethinkes, good in manie kindes: but aboue all other, Chawcer is mie conceit, is excellent in euerie veine, & humour: & none so like him for gallant verietie, both in matter, & forme, as Sir Philip Sidney: if all the Exercises which he compiled after Astrophil, & Stella, were consorted in one volume. Works in mie phansie, worthie to be intituled, the flowers of humanitie. Axiophilus in one of his Inglish discourses."

⁷⁴"The Glosses to Spenser's *Shepherd's Calender*", *JEGP* 18 (1919), 556-74.

⁷⁵*Op. cit.*, pp. 570-571.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 573.

⁷⁷September 224. Professor Herford thinks it should be glossed as *cry* or *voice*. Though Dr. Herford thinks enaunter (February 200 and September 161) should be glossed in *case*, E.K.'s *least that* is very apt in the context.

⁷⁸September 198.

⁷⁹October 65.

⁸⁰May 20. *Iouysance of Maye* (25) and *November* (2) is glossed *ioye* and *myrth*. *Souenaunce* (May 82 and *November* 5) is possibly taken from Caxton's *Golden Legend* or *Jason*, and is also correctly glossed "remembraunce." In this connection it is noticeable that Spenser is not the only one who is fond, as Herford remarks, of words ending in *aunce*. E.K. is also partial to this Spenserian ending, even to the extent of giving a word with the same ending as a synonym.

⁸¹September 243.

⁸²September 11⁹.

⁸³September 47. This word does not even appear in *N E D*.

⁸⁴February 43.

⁸⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 567.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 571.

⁸⁷*EMIA* 50 (1935), 140-55.

⁸⁸Intro. xxiv.

⁸⁹February 119, *November* 13 and 60, and *April* 26 respectively.

⁹⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 569.

⁹¹May 39.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 569.

⁹³October 114.

⁹⁴P. 180.

⁹⁵V, vii, 21.1.

⁹⁶June 103.

⁹⁷June 59.

⁹⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁹⁹Intro. xxiv.

¹⁰⁰P. 137.

¹⁰¹P. 200.

¹⁰²September 83.

¹⁰³June 103.

¹⁰⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 566.

¹⁰⁵Dr. Herford notes (p. 143) that *loordain* is M.E. and that it is derived from O.F. *lourdein*.

¹⁰⁶*Commentary*, p. 205.

¹⁰⁷"More Light on Spenser's Linguistics," MLN 41 (1926), 127-8. In the *Commentary* of his edition of Spenser's *Veue* Professor Renwick also notes many mistaken etymologies of Spenser.

¹⁰⁸"The Glosses to Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*," JEGP 18 (1919), 571.

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July, 1945

Vol. XX, No. 3

The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



Shakspere In the USSR

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The Authorship of the *Second Maiden's Tragedy*
and *The Revenger's Tragedy* (Conclusion)

A Prologue for *The Winter's Tale*, Acts IV and V
La Misa Del Gallo and Shakspere's "Bird of
Dawning"

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SHAKSPERE IN THE USSR

By EUGENE BLUM

IN APRIL 1941, two months before Germany invaded Russia, Professor M. M. Morozov emphatically stated in his article "The Bard of Avon feels at Home in the USSR," commemorating the 325th anniversary of Shakspeare's death: "Shakspeare did not just visit the Soviet Union; he came to stay with us."

Prof. Morozov has no difficulty in proving his case. All he asks us to do is to examine the repertories of the Moscow theaters for the current season. This alone proves the popularity of Shakspeare in Russia. We find *Othello* running to packed houses at the Maly Theater. The Theater of the Revolution is performing *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Romeo and Juliet*. *Taming of the Shrew* is being billed by the Central Theater of the Red Army. The Bauman Theater and the Central Railway Men's Theater are drawing the public with *A Comedy of Errors*. *King Lear* at the State Jewish Theater is already playing for the sixth consecutive year, and *Much Ado About Nothing* at the Vakh-tangov Theater has been running for several years. A comic operetta (music by Shenshin) based on *Twelfth Night* is being put on by the Operetta Theater.

Several Shakspeare works, which had not been performed before, made their appearance. *The Winter's Tale*, for instance, had been added to the repertory in the city of Gorky. *Antony and Cleopatra* is being rehearsed in Lenin-grad at the theater directed by Radlov and the drama theater in Tomsk. The Theater of Leninist Komsomol in Moscow is also working on *The Winter's Tale*. A number of workers from the Aviakhim Plant recently presented a creditable performance of *Cymbeline*. Two professional theaters, one in Moscow and the other in the provinces have taken up *Cymbeline*.

The most important feature of the current Soviet theatrical season is, of course, the particular attention which is

being given to the production of *Hamlet*. The Moscow Art Theater, the greatest in the Soviet Union, is continuing its work on this play. *Hamlet* is a permanent part of its repertory since it was staged there by Gordon Craig. Other theaters featuring *Hamlet* are the local organizations in Kursk, Stalingrad, Tbilisi, Archangel, Novosibirsk, Tula and Voronezh.

Prof. Morozov thus describes his impressions of *Hamlet* in the city of Voronezh, where he saw the production in January, 1941:

"... The hall is packed. The audience is in waiting anticipation. The curtain rises and reveals a cold, northern sky, sprinkled with stars, and the snow-touched battlements of a medieval castle. The sentinels appear on their rounds, and then, a moment later, the figure of the Ghost is seen against the starry sky.

"How well this role is understood! The audience is not treated to a supernatural specter achieved by cheap magic or a rotting corpse, horrifying in its very naturalism. No, it is a sorrowing father, boundlessly devoted to his son."

"The second scene opens with a banquet in the large hall of the castle. Standing on one side, with arms folded, is Hamlet. All attention is drawn to him. Actor Polyakov portrays a passionate, temperamental Hamlet. He gets the bitter irony across with success."

"The scenes between Hamlet and Polonius are excellent. Warm laughter among the audience greets the old man's utterances. It is with great élan that Polyakov plays the scene in the queen's apartment—here is a very interesting scenic moment: Hamlet gazes fixedly at the portrait of his father and the portrait slowly comes to life. Then the graveyard scene. It is evening, half-light; the tombstones loom against a background of racing clouds. As Ophelia's coffin is borne to the stage, the sobbing of women is heard."

"The scene of the duel and the play are over . . ."

This play is running to crowded houses; tickets are sold two weeks in advance.

After listening to a lecture on *Hamlet*, a public discussion of the production was held in the theater with more than 600 persons present. The discussion was warm, even heated. Not only were individual elements of the production praised or criticized, but the question of whether or not the theater had correctly conceived Shakspeare's great work was debated.

All in all, in 1941 there were about 500 theaters in USSR, and more than 200 of them were featuring Shakspeare in their repertories. During the course of a year the Shakspeare and West European Classic Department of the All Russian Theatrical Society gave 1234 consultations to directors, actors and artists. By far the largest number of these consultations—542—dealt with Shakspeare.

And what about Shakspeare in USSR during this terrible war with all its hardships, sacrifices and tragedy? May I be permitted to quote here a few lines from a letter by Professor Morozov, dated September 11, 1942, and addressed to Dr. A. S. Rosenbach:

"Even in these days our scholars find it possible to make contributions to the study of Shakspeare. But we are sure that in the nearest future, after our common foe will be smashed, they will devote all their energy and undivided attention to their work. In the most tremendous battle of all history we know, that Shakspeare, too, is a part of the culture we are fighting to defend."

All told, 18 of Shakspeare's plays were staged in the theaters of USSR prior to the war.

During the last 3 years—

<i>Othello</i> was played in	143	Soviet Theaters
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	78	
<i>Hamlet</i>	51	
<i>Much Ado</i>	39	
<i>Taming of the Shrew</i>	37	
<i>Twelfth Night</i>	25	
<i>King Lear</i>	20	

Millions of volumes of Shakspeare's works were published in the USSR since 1917. The books appeared in 17 different languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union, including the Chuvash, Buryant, Jewish, Kazakh, Tajik and Kirghiz languages; during the 20 years before 1917 in tsarist Russia Shakspeare was published in two languages only—Russian and Armenian.

Of all Shakspeare's plays the greatest popularity is enjoyed by *Hamlet*. Hundreds of thousands of copies in 14 languages have been published in the USSR.

More than 200 theaters include Shakspeare in their repertoires. In Moscow alone Shakspeare's plays are performed regularly in nine theaters.

The State Jewish Theater, under the direction of Michaels is preparing to put on *Richard III*, the Theater of the Red Army *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the Maly Theater *King Lear*.

Boston, Mass.

BORIS PASTERNAK'S TRANSLATION OF *OTHELLO*

By PROF. M. M. MOROZOV

(*Edited by Eugene Blum*)

THE new translation of *Othello* was read in the lecture room of the All Russian Theatre Society by Boris Pasternak¹ on September 19. This is the fourth Shakspeare translation that he has completed in these four years. The other three were—*Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Anthony and Cleopatra*.

It is doubtful whether any other Shakspeare reading has ever drawn such crowds. I received innumerable telephone calls from acquaintances asking to get them tickets. The pioneer's club of one Moscow district asked for thirty tickets for children who were especially interested in Shakspeare. The room, where the reading was to be held, could not accommodate all those who wished to be present. It was crowded until there was not even standing room. Window sills and isles between the seats were packed. Among the audience there were many producers, actors, artists and composers. Sergei Prokofiev,² who composed not only the ballet *Romeo and Juliet*, but also some very interesting suites to the dramatic productions of *Hamlet* and *Anthony and Cleopatra*, was sitting close to the stage.

In his characteristic, rather jerky manner of delivery, Pasternak explained the principles of his work on Shakspeare's great tragedy. Above all, he strives for simplicity and clarity, and in this respect I must point out that he belongs to that school of Russian translators which was established by Alexander Ostrovsky,³ noted Russian playwright, in his translation of *Taming of the Shrew*; and Apollon Griegoriev⁴ in his translation of *Romeo and Juliet*.

Pasternak strives first to bring home the realism of the playwright who created living people for us. He read the play beautifully, with passion and expressiveness. The most

striking feature of his translation makes itself more vividly felt in his own reading. He does not merely quote or recreate the text, as most translators do, he does not retell the story in his own words, but begins by building up in his own imagination the distinct and concrete figures, arranging his text on this foundation. That is why each character in his translation speaks with his own voice and intonations.

The question may arise as to whether a declamatory theatric version or faithfulness to real life and the wealth of psychological color and shades is most important for the theatre today. In the first case Weinberg's⁵ old translation of *Othello* would be the best choice, in the second—Pasternak's. But every critic will agree that this new translation is the work of a great poet.

When Pasternak had finished reading, there was prolonged applause. It is possible that before another year passes we shall hear his next work, the translation of both parts of *Henry the Fourth*.

Our Shakspeare section of the Theatre Society is hard at work again. At the end of the month I shall read excerpts of my prose translation of *Hamlet*. This was not undertaken for the purpose of producing something of artistic value, but solely to attain the maximum faithfulness to the original. I translated all the more important readings and provided my translation with detailed commentary. At our next meeting we shall hear V. S. Uzin's paper on *Cymbeline* and then arrange an evening to hear the work of V. Levik, a young and unusually talented translator, who has given us excellent renderings of Browning's poems and some old English ballads.

¹Boris Pasternak is unquestionably the most distinguished Russian poet of our days. But he is not the most popular one with the masses, and could be considered "the poets' poet." I had the pleasure of reading his translation of *Hamlet*; I think it is a masterpiece of poetic art. He does not attempt to translate the English idioms into Russian, as others have clumsily done, but is inclined to furnish the most suitable Russian idioms instead. He does it so cleverly that the atmosphere remains undisturbed.

²Sergei Prokofiev is well-known in this country as composer, conductor and pianist; he spent considerable time in this country.

³Alexander Ostrovsky, of course, is the great playwright of the last century.

⁴Apollon Grigoriev is a well-known translator of Shakspeare's plays.

⁵Weinberg is one of the best Shaksperian translators of the old school.

SHAKSPERE ON THE STAGES OF EREVAN, TBILISI, BAKU

By PROF. M. M. MOROZOV

THIS year witnessed the founding in Erevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia, of the Armenian Theatrical Society.

It was only right and natural that the old All Russian Theatrical Association, wherein I have the honor of being in charge of the Shakspeare Department, should from the very inception have formed bonds of closest friendship with the younger brother Association. The first result of this friendship was the joint organization this year of the traditional, annual Shakspeare conference in Erevan. It was the first time in our history that the reading of our Shakspeare conference papers was accompanied by a theatrical festival affording fresh evidence of the rich efflorescence in the theatrical art of Soviet Armenia.

The Sundukyan Theatre showed two admirable Hamlets (actors Vagarshyan and Janibekyan), also two no less admirable Othellos (Janibekyan and Narsessyan). There was a most pleasing performance, too, of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by the Erevan Juvenile Theatre. In the city Leninkan, where the Shakspeare conference spent a whole day, we saw a fascinating and delightful performance of *Twelfth Night*, staged by the gifted Armenian producer Ajemyan. It is not only the performances in themselves that strike one so forcibly. It is the love for culture, the ardent passion fanned by the Southern sun that one feels here so irresistibly.

I had been in Erevan ten years ago but could scarcely recognize this picturesque town situated at the foot of Mount Ararat. Small earthen houses had almost entirely disappeared. Many new buildings sprung up, reflecting the work of that wonderful Armenian Architect Tamanyan and his school. Armenia within the last ten years sensed with particular clarity its own original national artistic style. This style you feel everywhere—in paintings of the Armenian artists in local art museums and in the illustra-

tions of the ancient Armenian epic *David Sassun*,¹ made by that talented artist Ervand Kochar, and in the architecture of Tamanyan. This monumental style is virile and vigorous. You recognize it too in the Shaksperian performances in Erevan. It is not by chance that Vagarsh Vagarshyan, Erevan's finest actor, created the strong, manly, energetic image of Hamlet; neither is the admiration of the Armenian people for the monumental forms of Shakspeare's art, as **one lecturer at the conference observed, a matter of chance.** This admiration is remarkable. I have been told here that there have been cases in Armenia of parents giving their children the name of William in honor of the great playwright.

Armenia holds in highest esteem the name of the illustrious Armenian actor of the last century Petros Adamyan, whom the most rigorous critics in Russia placed above Rossi and Salvini, as Hamlet. The memory of Khan Massegian, the translator of Shakspeare, is held in equal veneration by the classical Armenian writers.

At the present time Armenia can justly be proud of the number of its outstanding Shakspearian actors, as was shown by the festival, and its many proficient Shakspeare scholars, as was evidenced at the conference at the Erevan Dramatic Theatre, which could not seat several hundreds of persons who were eager to attend the opening of the conference.

On the stage, beneath a huge portrait of Shakspeare, was the table of the presidium and the platform from which speakers addressed the conference. Besides Moscow guests, there were delegations from Georgia and Azerbaijan. In the lobbies one could hear people talking in Russian, Armenian, Georgian and Azerbaijan. On the following day came the reading of the reports and papers. Although the conference continued for nine days, the hall was filled to overflowing throughout the whole time, as well as during the performances of the Shakspeare festival. The conference made a one-day visit to Leninakan, the second largest city in Armenia. On stations in towns, where there are local

theatres, members of the delegations were met by the actors and actresses in national costumes. According to the custom of hospitable Armenia, they held in their hands trays bearing wine and refreshments. Not for a moment did the feeling leave me these days that it was not only the festival of culture of Soviet Armenia but also the expression of the heartfelt indissoluble friendship of peoples inhabiting our great country.

I have already mentioned the charming performance of *Twelfth Night* at Leninakan. In the background of the stage a gallery was formed with boxes in which large dolls were seated, dressed in costumes of Elizabethan England. It was as if they were attending a performance at the Globe Theatre. At the last entrance these dolls were imperceptibly replaced by real men and women and at the end of the play the dolls began to applaud. "A mere trick, a specious and unnecessary effect," will say the uninitiated. But Ajemyan, talented producer, had another aim in view and this idea struck home in his Armenian audience. When I asked one of those present what those dolls meant, he answered promptly: "Why, that means that even the dolls applaud Shakspeare."

The conference came to an end, but the theatrical festival still continued. In the course of twenty-eight hours we saw three performances of *Othello* (two matinees and one evening, one matinee in Armenian the other in Azerbaijan language, by an itinerant and permanent collective farm theatre).

Intensely interesting was the *Othello* of Ali Zeinal, young Azerbaijan actor and playwright. His movements were full of inimitable oriental grace, his lyricism intense and tender. The translation was made by Jaffar Zhabarly, a famous Azerbaijan playwright who died some years ago. He translated some of *Othello's* soliloquies into rhymed verse. As read by Zeinal, they are melodious and measured. They involuntarily bring to my mind the lines of Omar Khayam in Fitzgerald's translations.

The festival over, we made a tour through the vicinity of Erevan by car. We passed endless vineyards and visited the ruins of an ancient temple at Zwarnotze and the Chmiadzin residence of the Katolikos, the head of the Armenian Church.

From Erevan we went on to Tbilisi, the capital of Soviet Georgia. The way the Georgian actors played Shakspeare was wonderful! How easy are Tranio's movements in *The Taming of the Shrew*. He seems almost to be dancing; his voice rings when he sings, how gaily he laughs!—What fire in little impatient Juliet, who is so eager, so eager to see her Romeo! The Rustavelli Theatre at Tbilisi gave me one of the profoundest theatrical impressions of my life. I had the good fortune to see *Othello* acted by the Georgian Akaki Khorava, People's Artist of the USSR. The image so impressive, in powerful grandeur, temperament supreme and great mastery of technique. A triumph of theatrical art!

Tbilisi is one of the finest cities in our land; it is a large cultural center. Like Erevan it has its own Academy of Science, its own University and Pedagogical Institute. There is, moreover, an excellent Theatrical Institute. I gave a series of lectures in Tbilisi.

Shakspeare is marvelously popular. Suffice it to say that lectures on Shakspeare can easily collect an audience of a thousand persons.

The next stage of our journey was Baku. Here I was up to my ears in lectures. At Azerbaijan University there is a tremendous interest in Shakspeare. There is a special Shakspeare class conducted by Professor Mondrov. I made the acquaintance of two Shakspeare scholars who are writing their theses on the theme "Euphemisms in Shakspeare and Marlow." At Baku, too, I had occasion to witness two important events in the cultural life of the city: the inauguration of the Azerbaijan Theatrical Society (we have at present four theatrical societies—the All Russian of some sixty years standing and three young theatrical societies—in Armenia, Tajikistan and Azerbaijan) and the opening

of the Baku Theatrical Museum, one of the best-ordered theatrical museums in the Soviet Union.

There were no Shakspeare plays in Baku for the present, but there was one scheduled at Baku Azerbaijan Theatre on this year's program. I saw a number of other performances at this interesting playhouse, some patriotic pieces describing the struggle of our heroic soldiers fighting against the Hitlerite bandits, and gay comedies of modern life and plays drawn from legends of ancient history of Azerbaijan, such as *Bride of Flames* by Jaffar Zhabarly—a play full of poignant situations, vivid national coloring and intensity of passions that somehow reminded me of certain Elizabethan plays, *e.g.*, *The Spanish Tragedy* by Thomas Kyd. How rich and multiform is the cultural life of the free peoples of our Transcaucasia!

¹David Sassun is a national hero of Armenia.

SHAKSPERE EN FRANCE

par MAXIMILIEN RUDWIN

“TROIS POETES, écrivit récemment Guy de Pourta-
lès, formaient les colonnes du temple romantique :
Shakspere, Byron et Goethe.” Théophile Gautier nota
nostaliquement, dans son *Histoire du Romantisme* (pub-
liée en 1874), ses débuts littéraires en “ces temps merveil-
leux où Walter Scott était dans sa fleur, où l’on s’initiait
aux mystères de Goethe, où l’on découvrit Shakespeare.”
En effet, le mouvement littéraire éclos pendant la Restaura-
tion but aux sources idéologiques de Shakspere, de Byron
et de Goethe.

L’origine du romantisme en France, disons-le tout de
suite, est bien française et non pas une marchandise d’im-
portation. Il faut pourtant avouer qu’il y avait des influen-
ces étrangères—anglaises et allemandes—sur le romantisme
français. Il est un fait bien admis par tous les historiens du
romantisme que le cosmopolitisme fut un élément inhérent
et intégrant du romantisme français. Les romantiques im-
portaient l’étranger dans la littérature française. Mais tandis
que les classiques s’étaient inspirés de l’antiquité, les roman-
tiques s’inspiraient des littératures étrangères modernes.
Il faut pourtant ajouter que, à l’opposé des classiques, les
romantiques, qui luttaient pour la liberté de l’art et le
rajeunissement de l’inspiration et qui réclamaient la souve-
raineté de l’imagination, faisaient appel à l’exemple des
littératures étrangères, pas à leur autorité.

La vogue de la littérature anglaise venait en premier,
suivie bientôt par celle de la littérature allemande. Les
grands poètes des pays nordiques fascinaient, de leur gloire
et de leurs créations, l’imagination française durant la
période romantique. Mais le romantisme n’est pas resté
un élément étranger dans la littérature française. Quand le
romantisme français empruntait de l’étranger, il trans-
formait ses emprunts. Ce qui est mieux, c’est que la litté-
rature française pendant l’ère romantique, ranimée par les
littératures étrangères, réagissait à son tour sur elles et leur

imprimait un essor que les auteurs étrangers eux-mêmes s'étaient plus à reconnaître.

Chateaubriand, l'initiateur du mouvement romantique, revint d'Angleterre avec son sac de manuscrits et ramena le romantisme de ce pays-là, traduisant et commentant les plus originaux des poètes anglais. Mais ce "sachem du romantisme," pour nous servir de l'expression de Théophile Gautier, ne goûta point William Shakspeare (1564-1616), le plus grand poète dramatique de l'Angleterre et le grand maître de tous les romantismes. Mais après l'intervention de Mme de Staël, l'autre initiateur du romantisme français, en 1804, l'opinion française changea à l'égard du génie universel d'Angleterre. Dès lors, Shakspeare devint le maître qu'invoquaient les romantiques français.

Indubitablement, l'oeuvre de Mme de Staël exerça l'influence la plus évidente et la plus profonde sur les destinées de la littérature française. C'est cet écrivain qui mit définitivement la littérature du Nord à la mode en France. Jusque là elle était bien à la mode, mais d'une façon vague. De fait, l'ascendant des littératures septentrionales se faisait voir déjà dans la littérature française du XVIII^e siècle. Le courant de l'influence anglaise remonte à Voltaire, tandis que l'amour de la littérature allemande est dû à Rousseau. La vogue de la littérature et de la pensée anglaises fut très grande au milieu du XVIII^e siècle. Presque tout écrivain anglais, y compris Shakspeare, attira l'attention des lecteurs français de ce temps-là.

C'est un fait très curieux que Shakspeare semble avoir été longtemps inconnu en France. Les écrivains français du seizième et même du dix-septième siècle ont totalement ignoré le grand tragique anglais, qui a porté plus loin que tout autre dramaturge l'éloquence et l'émotion dans la peinture des passions tragiques. La seule exception à cette indifférence et ignorance à l'égard de Shakspeare est présentée par Cyrano de Bergerac, qui a bien lu et quelque peu pillé *Cymbeline*, *Hamlet* et *le Marchand de Venise* dans sa comédie de *la Mort d'Agrippine* (1653).

Mais il fallut que Voltaire, en 1731, exprimât son

admiration pour Shakspeare pour exciter enfin la curiosité du public; encore le fit-il à sa manière en l'appelant "le Corneille de Londres, grand fou d'ailleurs, mais il a des morceaux admirables". Le patriarche de Ferney fut en quelque sorte le champion de Shakspeare en France: le romantisme lui a de grandes obligations. Voltaire a contribué par ses *Lettres philosophiques* (1734) et par ses préfaces de *Brutus* (1730) et de *la Mort de César* (1735) à faire connaître l'oeuvre shaksperienne aux Français. Il tenta même maladroitement de transférer sur le théâtre français quelques scènes du poète anglais, qu'il traita d'ailleurs de "barbare". Il croyait aussi lui avoir emprunté, dans *Zaïre* (1732), dans *Eriphyle* (1732) et dans *Sémiramis* (1748), tout ce que le dramaturge anglais était susceptible de prêter aux Français du XVIII^e siècle. Diderot fit davantage pour l'ascendant de Shakspeare en France dans un article de son *Encyclopédie* (1772).

Jean-François Ducis, qui admirait Shakspeare à côté de son illustre contemporain Voltaire, réussit mieux à faire connaître le dramaturge anglais en France. C'est Ducis qui donna au Théâtre-Français les premières adaptations de Shakspeare. Il tira des drames de Shakspeare des singulières tragédies, ni classiques, ni romantiques, d'une remarquable maladresse: *Hamlet* (1769), *Roméo et Juliette* (1772), *le Roi Lear* (1783), *Macbeth* (1784) et *Othello* (1792). Mais Ducis fut un initiateur, qui passa une camisole de force à Shakspeare. Le société française ne pouvait goûter que ces rédactions de Shakspeare, et après 1820 elle s'y plaisait encore.

Shakspeare fut également traduit par Pierre Letourneur de 1776 à 1782. Voltaire accueillit avec mépris et presque avec fureur les adaptations de Ducis et la traduction de Letourneur. Il écrivit à propos de la traduction de Shakspeare par Letourneur une *Lettre à l'Académie sur Shakspeare* (1776), où il traite le dramaturge anglais de "sauvage ivre" et de "Gilles de la foires". L'opinion de Voltaire au sujet de Shakspeare a subi un revirement sensible. Le vieux Voltaire a perdu son anglomanie, et il a été surtout amer envers le dramaturge anglais. Il se plaint dans cette

lettre adressée à l'Académie française que ce "bouffon", qu'il a d'ailleurs introduit en France, est en train de dégrader et de dénationaliser la tragédie française. Voltaire, qui a fait un pas vers le romantisme par son admiration pour Shakspeare, revient dans sa vieillesse à son premier amour pour Racine.

Mais la vogue de Shakspeare s'est renouvelé pendant la période romantique. Charles Nodier, le maître du romantisme, recommanda Shakspeare au seuil du XIXe siècle dans ses *Pensées sur Shakespeare* (1801). François Guizot, inspiré par les idées de Mme de Staël, ranima l'enthousiasme des Français pour l'oeuvre shakspienne. L'influence de Shakspeare, traduit, en 1821, par Guizot (une révision de la traduction de Letourneur), ne cesse pas de grandir par un progrès régulier. Shakspeare est nettement et sensiblement abordé dans les articles du *Globe*, ce qui prouve une révolte contre l'attitude voltairienne à l'égard du poète anglais. Parmi les autorités que les romantiques évoquent est Shakspeare. Stendhal commente Shakspeare, en 1822, dans sa fameuse brochure *Shakespeare et Racine*. Prosper de Barante et Abel-François Villemain publient des études louangeuses sur le dramaturge anglais.

Shakspeare est directement apporté en France par une compagnie théâtrale britannique. En 1827-1828, une troupe d'acteurs londoniens donne, en anglais, une série de représentations à l'Odéon de quelques chefs-d'oeuvre du poète, qui enflamment la bande turbulente de toute la gent chevelue des Jeune-France aux gilets éclatants. Les Parisiens raffolent de ces représentations des acteurs anglais, qui transportent d'enthousiasme la jeunesse romantique et qui révèlent à Alfred de Vigny, à Victor Hugo, à Hector Berlioz, à Alexandre Dumas le plus grand génie dramatique de tous les temps.

Le premier, Vigny fit jouer une adaptation d'*Othello ou le More de Venise* (1829) qui n'est pas trop au-dessous du modèle et qui réussit, malgré une cabale admirablement menée. Sa traduction du *Marchand de Venise* (1839) ne fut jouée qu'en 1905. Dès lors, les tentatives de mettre les

pièces shaksperiennes sur la scène française se multiplièrent. Pour ne citer qu'un seul autre exemple de l'engouement français pour Shakspeare: George Sand fit jouer, en 1856, *Comme il vous plaira*.

Shakspeare fut un des poètes favoris de Victor Hugo, qui tomba, comme tous les grands romantiques français, sous l'influence du barde d'Avon. Victor Hugo lut Shakspeare quand il était un "grand diable de seize ans," et il garda toute sa vie une profonde admiration pour lui. "J'admire tout dans Homère, dans Shakespeare et dans la Bible," écrivit-il. Déjà, dans sa jeunesse, l'admiration de Victor Hugo alla à Shakspeare, qu'il rangea parmi les plus grands génies de tous les temps: Eschyle, Dante, Milton et Shakspeare (*Toute la Lyre*: "les Sept Cordes" IV,v). Parmi les noms qui ont été incrustés sur la cheminée d'Hauteville-House en lettres gothiques damasquinées d'or mat, dans des cartouches entourées de motifs d'ornements du même style, se trouva Shakspeare. Il écrivit une préface très élogieuse, en 1864, à la belle traduction de Shakspeare faite par son fils François-Victor Hugo (1859-1866).

Victor Hugo, par dévotion pour Shakspeare, s'apprêta à renouveler le drame. Shakspeare fournit la plus grande partie des arguments du principal manifeste romantique, la préface à *Cromwell* (1827), qui fut bourrée de mitraille et où il proposa le mélange du pathétique et du burlesque, du gracieux et du grossier. La présentation des bouffons et des fous par le grand auteur tragique anglais est à ce point à la base de la pratique de Victor Hugo. "De la féconde union du laid et du beau, de la tragédie et de la comédie, naît le drame", proclama Victor Hugo dans sa préface à *Cromwell*, "formulant, deux siècles après Shakespeare, le credo d'une esthétique dont le poète anglais avait déjà largement brossé les lumières et les ombres" (Guy de Pourtalès).

La riche imagination du célèbre dramaturge anglais a dû évoquer chez Victor Hugo, comme chez tous les romantiques français, tout un monde de créations fantastiques et diaboliques. L'auteur de *Cromwell* a bien constaté que

“certains côtés sinistres de Shakespeare sont hantés par les spectres (*Shakespeare* II, ii,2[14]). C'est pourquoi il l'appelle “le Satan de votre art poétique” (*l'Ane* I,v). Il est intéressant de noter à ce sujet que le romancier américain Frédéric Arnold Kummer, dans son curieux ouvrage *Gentlemen in Hades* (1930) met Shakspere en enfer, où il est directeur du meilleur journal du royaume des ténèbres, la *Gehenna Gazette*.

Il est vrai que Shakspere n'a jamais introduit dans ses pièces, même les plus fantastiques, la personne du diable. Pourtant, son oeuvre contient les noms de vingt diables, bien qu'ils soient toujours dans les coulisses. Il faut ajouter que, dans *Henri VI*, la Pucelle d'Orléans évoque des diables sur la scène. Divers commentateurs pensent pourtant que la pièce n'est pas du grand Will. Mais, d'après aux-mêmes, Shakspere l'aurait, tout au moins, arrangée. A l'instar de Shakspere, Victor Hugo ne fait jamais paraître le diable en personne dans son théâtre. La seule fois qu'il y paraît, c'est en qualité de souffleur dans les *Comédies injouables* (*Toute la Lyre*: “les Sept cordes” VII,x,1). Les drames de Victor Hugo, où se montre le plus l'influence de Shakspere, sont surtout pleins de diablerie et de sorcellerie. Les expressions diaboliques pullulent dans *Cromwell* (1827). La pièce *Mangeront-ils?* du *Théâtre en Liberté* (écrit en 1869), où Victor Hugo se montre le plus l'imitateur de Shakspere, donne une large place à la sorcellerie. Un acte a même pour titre “la Sorcière”. La pièce se joue dans l'île de Man, où la démonologie médiévale est encore très vivace. On croit toujours dans cette île que le diable y danse avec toute sa phalange de démons à Noël.

Quand Hector Berlioz, le plus grand compositeur français, qui a renouvelé la musique pendant la période romantique, assista aux représentations des pièces shaksperiennes, il fut foudroyé, et l'artiste fut né dans ce pauvre diable sans expérience. Mais cédon la parole à Guy de Pourtalès, auteur de l'excellente biographie *Berlioz et l'Europe romantique* (1938), qui décrit l'impression qu'a créée la représentation d'*Hamlet* sur le jeune musicien comme suit:

Il avait besoin de rire, de pleurer, dépouser le drame dans sa chair vivante, de faire jaillir tout un foisonnement de musique, toute une postérité d'Hamlets. Il devenait Shakespeare, et, le devenant, se sentait Berlioz.

Hector Berlioz, qui épousera plus tard l'héroïne shaksperienne Harriet Smithson, qui était venue en France avec la troupe des acteurs londoniens, composa, entre autres, les ouvertures au *Roi Lear*, au *Songe d'une Nuit d'Été*, à *Roméo et Juliette*, à *la Tempête* et le *Scherzo de la Reine Mab*.

Shakspeare fut également le maître littéraire d'Alexandre Dumas, qui ne pouvait manquer de subir l'influence du dramaturge anglais. Il affirma qu'*Hamlet* lui avait ouvert un nouveau monde dramatique et avoua que ses tableaux historiques devaient beaucoup à Shakspeare. Des réminiscences du barde d'Avon se trouvent aussi dans la pièce *Don Juan de Moraña ou la Chute d'un Ange* (1836).

Les fantaisies sylvestres d'Alfred de Musset sont des échos de la *Douzième Nuit* et *Comme il vous plaira* de Shakspeare. Quelques-uns des personnages des pièces fantastiques du poète français nous rappellent Ariel, le joueur de tambourin, qui chevauche les nuages frisés, l'ingénieux serviteur des fantaisies du poète anglais.

Parmi les romantiques français qui ont chanté la gloire de Shakspeare, il faut signaler Auguste Barbier, le poète des immortels *Iambes* (1931).

L'influence shaksperienne se révèle aussi dans les *Enfants d'Edouard* (1833) de Casimir Delavigne, dans le *Théâtre de la Révolution* (1898-1902) de Romain Rolland et dans plusieurs des pièces de Maurice Maeterlinck.

Notons aussi le bel opéra en cinq actes d'*Hamlet* (1868) avec paroles de Michel Carré et Jules Barbier et musique d'Ambroise Thomas.

Parmi les études critiques sur Shakspeare de la période

post-romantique, il faut signaler les articles d'Emile Montégut (1883).

Les principales traductions complètes des oeuvres dramatiques de Shakspeare sont celles de Pierre Letourneur, de François-Victor Hugo et d'Emile Montégut (1866-1869).

Après la libération de France on a annoncé la traduction ou plutôt l'adaptation d'*Hamlet* faite par André Gide, le plus grand écrivain européen de notre temps. En même temps, on a fait monter *Antoine et Cléopâtre* à la Comédie française de Paris.

Qu'il nous soit permis d'ajouter, pour conclure cet article, que, par l'influence qu'il a exercé en France surtout durant l'ère romantique, Shakspeare n'a fait que rendre aux Français ce qu'ils lui avaient prêté. Le grand dramaturge anglais est, comme on le sait bien, un des plus grands débiteurs de Michel Montaigne (1533-1592), l'un des plus grands esprits de tous les temps.

New York, N. Y.

WHY NOT FLEANCE?

By JOHN C. McCLOSKEY

BECAUSE the first murderer in *Macbeth* asks, "Was't not the way?" most commentators believe that it was he who extinguished the light and thus aided Fleance's escape. Yet there is no apparent reason why he should have done so, unless one accepts the tenuous hypothesis that this act imputed to him is the swift, momentary interposition of the hand of Providence. And if one does accept this hypothesis it is apparent, nevertheless, that the more logical agent of Providence is the mysterious third murderer rather than the first or second, unless one accepts the equally untenable hypothesis that the third murderer is Macbeth himself. If it could be assumed, and there is no evidence for such an assumption, that the speeches of the third and first murderers following the slaying of Banquo have been transposed, the question of who put out the light might devolve upon the solution of the identity of the third murderer, provided one does not insist that he is Macbeth himself. The question of the light is a puzzling one, yet there is a solution other than those heretofore proposed.

In the working out of this solution it should be recalled that the first and the second murderer are desperate men persuaded to slay Banquo for personal revenge and for the consequent favor of King Macbeth. Nothing in their lines, or in those of anyone else, suggests that they have any desire of, or any motive for, frustrating the murder of Banquo's son and thus being accessory to the escape of Fleance.

This escape, according to Shakspeare's historical source, actually did occur. The problem, then, for the dramatist was to present it plausibly on the stage. Why may it not be assumed, therefore, that the knocking out of the light is primarily a dramatic device to permit Fleance to escape in a manner theatrically convincing?

What evidence is there for such an assumption? Although the stage direction in the First Folio reads: "Enter Banquo and Fleans, with a Torch," most modern editions place the

comma after Banquo, thus: "Enter Banquo, and Fleance with a torch." Delius remarks, in the *Variorum Shakespeare*, that in the line "Give me a light there, ho!" Banquo is calling for a light from one of his servants, because he and Fleance are about to strike off into the footway, while the servants make a circuit of the castle, with the horses. Collier (ed. 1) explains that Fleance carries the torch to light his father. Collier says: ". . . in the old stage-direction nothing is said about a *servant*, who would obviously be in the way, when his master was to be murdered. The *servant* is a merely modern interpolation."

Since I agree with Collier on this point, for dramatically the presence of a servant to report the murder or to summon help would be a blunder, I believe that when Banquo and Fleance enter, it is Fleance who carries the torch; and I believe that in the stage direction *torch* means simply that and not *torchbearer*. All three of the murderers set upon Banquo. Here it should be noted that although the First Folio has no stage direction, most modern editions of the play read: "They set upon Banquo," not upon Banquo and Fleance.¹ This leaves Fleance apart holding the torch. What does he do? Before Banquo dies he shouts to his son: "Fly, good Fleance, fly, fly fly. Thou mayest revenge. O slave!" Now if Fleance has normal common sense he is not going to run away with a blazing torch in his hand lighting the way of the murderers to him. So as he sees his father being murdered and hears his command to flee and escape, what could be more natural and more logical than that Fleance himself should strike out the torch he was holding, thus concealing himself in the darkness and making good his escape?

Because of the necessity of presenting Fleance's historical escape convincingly on the stage, Shakspeare had the murderers, in the heat of the action, fail to attack or to secure the boy. During the time consumed by them in making twenty gashes upon the body of Banquo, the torch has been extinguished. So busy were the three in murdering Banquo that they did not notice who struck out the torch; hence the question "Who did strike out the light?" on the

part of any of them might not be unexpected. The reply of the first murderer can be explained, with some plausibility, by pointing out that the murder is occurring in a park near the palace and that the extinguishing of whatever revealing light is at hand is a logical process of concealment from passersby and from whoever might by chance be watching from the palace. The mere fact that the first murderer, busy at the time of extinguishing the light in inflicting his portion of the twenty gashes upon Banquo, asks the question after the murder has been done is no proof that he himself knocked out the light; it is proof of nothing beyond the fact that he approves of the murder being done under the cloak of darkness and that he considers the putting out of the light the correct procedure under the circumstances. It so happened, however, that Fleance himself put out the light and thus escaped.

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¹The Globe edition: "They fall upon Banquo and kill him; in the scuffle Fleance escapes."

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *SECOND MAIDEN'S TRAGEDY* AND *THE REVENGER'S TRAGEDY*

By RICHARD H. BARKER

(*Conclusion*)

III. *The Revenger's Tragedy*

THE Revenger's Tragedy was entered in the Stationers' Register (along with Middleton's *Trick to Catch the Old One*) on October 7, 1607,¹⁴ and published anonymously in the same year. It remained anonymous until the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was attributed to Tourneur in two play lists—one by Archer (1656) and one by Kirkman (1661).¹⁵ For more than two centuries it was accepted as Tourneur's—accepted, that is, until the era of textual scholarship began, when doubts were expressed by three different authorities—Fleay (1891),¹⁶ Schelling (1908),¹⁷ and Oliphant (1911).¹⁸ All were quite sure that it was unlike the one play known to be by Tourneur; Fleay suggested Webster as a possible author, and Oliphant very tentatively suggested Middleton. In 1919 the case for Tourneur was revived by Sykes,¹⁹ but in 1926 the case for Middleton was made much stronger by Oliphant, who in that year published the first careful and systematic study of the text.²⁰ Oliphant's views were accepted by some scholars,²¹ but rejected—rather warmly rejected—by others, notably Nicoll, who in 1930 published an edition of Tourneur,²² and T. S. Eliot, who reviewed Nicoll's work.²³ Further arguments for Tourneur were given by Miss Ellis-Fermor (1935)²⁴ and by Parrott and Ball (1943).²⁵

The Case for Tourneur. The fact that Archer and Kirkman ascribed the play to Tourneur is evidence of a sort, but not very good evidence. For the seventeenth-century booksellers often made the wildest guesses about authorship. Archer, for example, ascribed *A Trick to Catch the Old One* to Shakspeare.

The internal evidence offered by modern scholars is not.

on the whole, much more satisfactory. Sykes lists phrases and mannerisms that appear in both *RT* and *The Atheist's Tragedy*, but he overlooks the fact that most of the same phrases and mannerisms appear in Middleton.²⁶ Nicoll finds that the two plays have much the same point of view, much "the same dark and ironical attitude towards life."²⁷ He is not very specific, but he seems to believe that the irony in *RT* is evidence for Tourneur. Eliot relies on the purely negative argument that the characters in the play are quite different from those in the tragedies that Middleton wrote some fifteen years later. This is true, but Eliot ignores Middleton's early comedies, notably *Your Five Gallants*, a play in which the characters are (as he says of those in *RT*) "distortions, grotesques, almost childish caricatures of humanity."²⁸ Miss Ellis-Fermor finds certain general resemblances and certain general differences between the images in *RT* and *The Atheist's Tragedy*, and from this she infers that the two plays were written by the same man at different times.²⁹ But the inference is scarcely justifiable. She might quite as well infer that the plays were written at the same time by different men. Parrott and Ball compare *RT* with Tourneur's early poem, *The Transformed Metamorphosis*. They see in both the same curious juxtaposition of "Marston's obsession with vice, specifically with sexual vice, and Spenser's worship of chaste beauty."³⁰ But they exaggerate: there is not much sex in the poem and not much Spenser in the play.

The Case for Middleton: I. Irony. *RT* is an even better example of Middleton's irony than the *SMT*. The chief characters—Lussurioso, the Duke, Gratiana, Ambitioso and Supervacuo, even Vindice and Hippolito—work against their own interests, set in motion the forces that bring about their own ruin. They are treated just as Proditor, Follywit, and Hoard are treated in Middleton's early drama, and they sometimes behave in almost exactly the same way.

At the beginning of the play, for example, Lussurioso is interested in debauching the virtuous Castiza; but when he wants a pander, he consults Castiza's brother Hippolito, the very man he should by all means avoid. Hippolito recommends Vindice, Castiza's other brother, and Lussurioso

at once betrays himself—charges a brother with a sister's ruin, even boasts of his wit at the very moment when he himself is outwitted.

Lussurioso. That was her brother
That did prefer thee to vs.

We may laugh at that simple age within him.

Vindice. Ha, ha, ha.
Lussurioso. Himselfe being made the subtill instrument,
To winde vp a good fellow.
Vindice. That's I my Lord.
Lussurioso. That's thou.
To entice and worke his sister.
Vindice. A pure nouice!
Lussurioso. T'was finely manag'd. (I, iii, 148-149, 155-163.)

In *The Phoenix* Proditor wants to murder the Duke of Ferrara, but in singling out a murderer, he relies on the advice of Fidelio, the best friend of the Duke's son. Fidelio recommends Prince Phoenix himself, and Proditor accepts him without question. He charges a son with a father's murder, boasts—just as *Lussurioso* boasts—of his superior cunning.

Proditor. Nay, give my words honour; hear me.
I'll strive to bring this act into such form
And credit amongst men, they shall suppose,
Nay, verily believe, the prince, his son,
To be the plotter of his father's murder.
Phoenix. O that were infinitely admirable!
Proditor. Were't not? it pleaseth me beyond my bliss.
Then if his son meet death as he returns,
Or by my hired instruments turn up,
The general voice will cry, O happy vengeance!
Phoenix. O blessed vengeance! (IV, i, 5-15.)

Later in the play *Ambitioso* and *Supervacuo* scheme to save their nameless brother, the one called the Youngest Son of the Duchess, and at the same time to get rid of *Lussurioso*, who stands between them and the dukedom. For both the Youngest Son and *Lussurioso* are under sentence of death, the one for rape, the other for attempting his father's murder. *Ambitioso* and *Supervacuo* are very sure of themselves,

very proud of their skill at intrigue. They get possession of the ducal signet, take it surreptitiously to the officers of the prison, and order the immediate execution of the Duke's son. But by failing to specify which of the two sons they mean, they defeat their own purpose. Subsequently they congratulate themselves, even quarrel when they try to decide who thought up so ingenious a plan.

Ambitioso. Was not this execution rarely plotted?
We are the Dukes sonnes now.

Supervacuo. I you may thanke my policie for that.

Ambitioso. Your policie, for what?

Supervacuo. Why wast not my inuention brother,
To slip the Iudges, and in lesser compasse,
Did not I draw the modell of his death,
Aduizing you to suddaine officers,
And een extemporall execution?

Ambitioso. Heart, twas a thing I thought on too .

Supervacuo. You thought ont too, sfoote slander not your
thoughts

With glorious vntruth, I know twas from you. (III, vi, 2-13.)

The reader can scarcely help remembering the scene in *A Trick to Catch the Old One* in which the three followers of Hoard engage in a quarrel, each contending that he contributed most to the conquest of the courtesan-widow.

First Gentleman. Did not I use most art to win the widow?

Second Gentleman. You shall pardon me for that, sir; master Hoard knows I took her at best 'vantage.

Hoard. What's that, sweet gentlemen, what's that?

Second Gentleman. He will needs bear me down, that his art only wrought with the widow most.

Hoard. O, you did both well, gentlemen, you did both well, I thank you.

First Gentleman. I was the first that moved her.

Hoard. You were, i'faith.

Second Gentleman. But it was I that took her at the bound.

(III, iii, 21-29.)

The dialogue is substantially the same as the dialogue between *Ambitioso* and *Supervacuo*, and the irony is used in exactly the same way.

2. *Style.* The harsh and bitter style of the play—a re-

flection of the author's harsh and bitter mood—is described as well as illustrated in Castiza's line: "Your Tongues haue struck hotte yrons on my face" (II, i, 259). The author repeatedly strikes with hot irons; in his more characteristic passages, his language invariably sears and burns. He is more fond of metaphors than of similes, more fond of short incisive metaphors than of long ones. He likes puns, especially harsh jangling puns, not because they display his ingenuity, but because they help to intensify the grotesque effect at which he aims. The pun on *brook* at the very moment of the Duke's death (III, v, 234-235) is an obvious illustration.

There are few echoes of this style in *The Atheist's Tragedy*, and not many more in the later plays of Middleton, where imagery and word-play are handled quite differently. But there are often suggestions of it, and there is sometimes a style that closely resembles it, in the early Middleton, notably (I think) in *The Phoenix*, the one early Middleton play that contains a substantial number of serious scenes. Such lines as the following seem to me particularly significant:

- This lord sticks in my stomach.
- How? take one of thy feathers down, and fetch him up.
(II, ii, 277-279.)
- Necessary mischief,
- Next to a woman, but more close in secrets! (IV, i, 21-22.)
- Treason grows ripe, and therefore fit to fall:
- That slave first sinks whose envy threatens all. (IV, i, 27-28.)
- I'm sick of all professions; my thoughts burn. (IV, ii, 101.)
- He the disease of justice, these of honour,
- And this of loyalty and reverence,
- The unswept venom of the palace. (V, i, 159-161.)

So too are a number of other lines that illustrate the word-play—the puns that explode when one least expects them in the course of the most serious dialogue. Phoenix, deploring the evils done in the name of Law, suddenly shifts from metaphor to pun:

- to have
- A suit hang longer than a man in chains,
- Let him be ne'er so fasten'd. (I, iv, 223-225.)

Castiza, trying to save her husband from violence, describes him as her "dear sweet captain," and Phoenix replies:

Lady, you wrong your value:
Call you him dear that has sold you so cheap. (II, ii, 299-300.)

Lines like these might well have appeared in *RT*.

3. *Diction*. Sykes points out that the diction of *RT* is less elaborate and less stilted than that of *The Atheist's Tragedy* (which, like Tourneur's *Funeral Poem*, contains many words ending in *-tion*). But it is perhaps possible to go farther than this, to say that—in some cases at least—the diction of *RT* is characteristic of Middleton; and I would mention as particularly good cases the words *slave* and *comfort*. The first is used 26 times, chiefly of course as a term of abuse. It is used 12 times in *Your Five Gallants*, 12 times in *The Phoenix*, and 8 times in *Michaelmas Term*, but it does not appear at all in *The Atheist's Tragedy*. The second word, *comfort*, has long been recognized as a favorite of Middleton's. It appears 17 times in *RT*, but only twice in *The Atheist's Tragedy*.

Oliphant points to several unusual words, like *unbribéd*, *hereafter* (used as an adjective), and *sasarara*, all of which appear in Middleton. But he overlooks what seems to me the most important of them—the word *luxur*, used in I, i, 12 and II, ii, 129. The *New English Dictionary* describes it as a rare word of uncertain origin and lists only two other examples of its use—both in pamphlets that Middleton published in the year 1604. *Luxur* may well be a coinage of Middleton's.

4. *Mannerisms*. Oliphant mentions several mannerisms that Middleton and the author of *RT* have in common:

1. A fondness for making one character express agreement with what another has said.
2. A fondness for using *troth* or *faith* with *true*, as in "Troth he sayes true."
3. A fondness for characterizing minutes, hours, and days, as in "one false minute," "harmonious houres," etc.
4. A fondness for the idiom "give . . . due" as in "giue Reuenge her due."

5. A fondness for ironical asides which confirm remarks just made. Oliphant also points to several Middleton mannerisms that are illustrated once or twice in the course of the play, but this is a less satisfactory sort of evidence.

5. *Versification*. It has long been recognized that the versification is more like Middleton's than Tourneur's. Oliphant mentions a number of different tests, but the simplest of them, the test of feminine endings, is quite satisfactory.

Play	No. lines tested	No. fem. endings	Percentage fem. endings
Revenger's Tragedy	400	110	27.5
Phoenix	250	67	26.8
Michaelmas Term	150	36	24
Atheist's Tragedy	500	37	7.4

6. *Oaths and Ejaculations*. The oath *in faith* is used about as frequently as in the early days of Middleton.⁸¹

Play	Total no. oaths	No. of <i>faith</i>
Revenger's Tragedy	98	44
Phoenix	83	35
Michaelmas Term	102	58
Atheist's Tragedy	45	9

Push occurs 6 times; *tush* does not occur.

7. *Parallels*. In the following list I have ignored the many parallels pointed out by Oliphant and other scholars, and given only those that I myself have noticed.

Turnes my abused heart-strings into fret. (I, i, 16.)

Cf. *Chaste Maid*, I, ii, 54-55:

when the string

Of his heart frets.

— What comfort bringst thou? how go things at Court?

— In silke and siluer brother. (I, i, 56-57.)

Cf. *Michaelmas Term*, induction, l. 35:

Crept up in three terms, wrapt in silk and silver.

A Rape! why tis the very core of lust. (I, ii, 47.)

Cf. *Michaelmas Term*, III, iv, 266:

To beguile goodness is the core of sins.

sfoote the slaue's

Already as familiar as an Ague

And shakes me at his pleasure. (I, iii, 39-41.)

Cf. *Father Hubbard's Tales*, VIII, 93: . . . then shaking me by the sleeve as familiarly as if we had been acquainted seven years together.

for honesty

Is like a stock of money layd to sleepe,

Which nere so little broke, do's neuer keep. (I, iii, 129-131.)

Cf. *Phoenix*, II, ii, 20-21, where Castiza mentions "chaste credit" and goes on to say:

Well may I call it chaste; for, like a maid,

Once falsely broke, it ever lives decay'd.

Nay then I see thou'rt but a puny in the subtil Mistry
of a woman. . . . (I, iii, 173-174.)

Cf. *Roaring Girl*, II, i, 142: . . . like a puny at the inns of venery. . . .

Now let me burst, I'ue eaten Noble poyson. (I, iii, 191.)

Cf. *Black Book*, VIII, 32: . . . to gorge every vice full of poison, that the soul might burst at the last. . . .

How hardly shall that mayden be beset,

Whose onely fortunes, are her constant thoughts,

That has no other childe-part but her honor,

That Keepes her lowe and empty in estate.

Why had not vertue a reuennewe? (II, i, 2-8.)

Here Castiza opens the act with a soliloquy on dowerless maids. Cf. *No Wit*, I, ii, 3-10, where Mistress Low-Water opens the scene with a soliloquy on distressed gentlewomen. "Has virture no revenue?" she asks, and she goes on to develop the image used by Castiza:

Where are our hopes in banks? was honesty,

A younger sister, without portion left,

No dowry in the chamber beside wantonness?

Why say so mad-man, and cut of a great deale of
dirty way. . . . (II, i, 19-20.)

Cf. *Mad World*, I, i, 74-75: . . . to be short, and cut off a great deal of dirty way. . . .

That forty Angells can make fourescore diuills. (II, i, 101.)

Cf. *Family of Love*, I, ii, 154: But angels make them admirable devils.

my spirit turnes edge. (II, i, 122.)

Cf. *Phoenix*, V, i, 205:

Our duties shall turn edge upon our crimes.
troupes of celestiall Soldiers gard her heart. (II, i, 157.)

Cf. *Mad World*, IV, i, 31:

Celestial soldiers guard me!
Virginitie is paradise, lockt vp.
You cannot come by your selues without fee.
And twas decreed that man should keepe the key! (II, i, 176-178.)

Cf. *No Wit*, II, i, 16-20: You must think, sweet widow, if a man keep maids, they're under his subjection. . . . They have no reason to have a lock but the master must have a key to't.

Hell would looke like a Lords Great Kitchin
without fire in't. (II, i, 279.)

Cf. *Widow*, I, i, 29-31: There's like to be a good house kept then when fire and water's forbidden to come into the kitchen.

A right good woman in these dayes is changde
Into white money with lesse labour farre. (II, ii, 31-32.)

Cf. *Phoenix*, I, iv, 245-246: . . . he does determine to turn her into white money. . . .

But set spurs to the Mother; golden spurs
Will put her to a false gallop in a trice. (II, ii, 53-54.)

Cf. *No Wit*, III, i, 35-36:

I know the least touch of a spur in this
Will now put your desires to a false gallop.
The pen of his bastard writes him Cuckold. (II, ii, 121.)
This their second meeting writes the Duke Cuckold. (II, ii, 147.)

Cf. *Phoenix*, I, ii, 100:

he'll one day write me cuckold.
To Grace those sins that haue no grace at all. (II, ii, 151.)

Cf. *Michaelmas Term*, II, iii, 453-454:

— A very good grace to make a lawyer.
 — For indeed he has no grace at all.
 This woman in immodest thin apparell
 Lets in her friend by water. (II, ii, 155-156.)

Cf. *Witch*, II, i, 47-48: . . . to come by water to the back-door at midnight. . . .

Also *Game at Chess*, II, ii, 45-46 (shee and I haue clapt a Bergayne up/ Lett in at Watergate).

The craftiest pleader gets most gold for breath. (II, ii, 280.)

Cf. *Father Hubbard's Tales*, VIII, 106:

Those pleaders . . .
 That wrestle with the arms of voice and air;
 And lest they should be out, or faint, or cold,
 Their innocent clients hist them on with gold.
 A Dukes soft hand stroakes the rough head of law,
 And makes it lye smooth. (II, ii, 291-292.)

Cf. *Triumphs of Truth*, VII, 260:

I was not made to fawn or stroke sin smooth.
 My hairees are white, and yet my sinnes are Greene. (II, ii, 360.)

Cf. *Roaring Girl*, V, ii, 124:

Their sins are green even when their heads are grey,
 As some old gentlewoman in a Periwig. (III, v, 116.)

Cf. *Family of Love*, II, ii, 2-3: . . . more lively and fresh than an old gentlewoman's glazed face in a new periwig.

Giue me that sin thats ro'd in Holines. (III, v, 147.)

Cf. *Game at Chess*, II, ii, 141-143:

but to finde Sin ./. .
 Under a Robe of Sanctitie.
 sfoote iust vpon the stroake
 Iars in my brother—twill be villanous Musick. (IV, i, 32-33.)

The idea of jarring music occurs frequently in Middleton; cf., for example, *Mad World*, III, ii, 148-149:

There struck the minute that brings forth the birth
 Of all my joys and wishes; but see the jar now!
 And thou hast put my meaning in the pockets,
 And canst not draw that out. (IV, ii, 99-100.)

Cf. *No Wit*, II, ii, 96-97:

Deal plainly, heaven will bless thee; turn out all,
And shake your pockets after it.
Iue ene forgot what colour siluers off. (IV, ii, 110.)

Cf. *Phoenix*, III, i, 195-196: . . . what colour's silver, I pray? you ne'er saw money in your life. . . .

Nay doubt not tis in graine, I warrant it hold collour. (IV, ii, 255.)

Vindice is saying that his scheme is a good one. Cf. *Mad World*, III, iii, 81-82, where Follywit expresses approval of a scheme: . . . nay, 'tis in grain; I warrant it hold colour.

But there desires are thousand miles about. (IV, iii, 23.)

Middleton is fond of this idiom; c.f., for example, *Black Book*, VIII, 20: . . . some whose brains are above an hundred mile about. . . .

A drab of State, a cloath of siluer slut,
To haue her traine borne vp, and her soule traile i' the
durt. (IV, iv, 80-81.)

Cf. *Phoenix*, V, i, 28-29:

Thou see'st thy daughters with their trains borne up,
Whom else despisèd want may curse to whoredom.
In three houres reading, to vntwist so much
Of the black serpent, as you wound about me. (IV, iv, 143-144.)

Cf. *Game at Chess*, IV, iv, 9-10:

When they haue woond about our constant Courages
The glitteringst Serpent that ere falshood fashiond.
. . . how quaintly hee died like a Polititian in
hugger-mugger. . . . (V, i, 17.)

Cf. *Changeling*, V, ii, 28-29:

I'll rather like a soldier die by th' sword,
Than like a politician by thy poison.
Ile tug in the new streame. (V, i, 125.)

Cf. *No Wit*, II, iii, 258-259:

the streams of fortune,
'Gainst which he tugs in vain.
Winde vp your soules to their full height agen. (V, ii, 7.)

Cf. *Mad World*, I, i, 161:

To have our wits wound up to their stretch'd height.
A piteous trag æ dy, able to make
An old-mans eyes bloud-shot. (V, iii, 90-91.)

Cf. *Mad World*, III, ii, 26-27: . . . here's a sight able to make an old man shrink!

It is now possible to review and interpret the evidence gathered in the preceding pages. The *SMT* and *RT* show certain points of resemblance to one another; they also resemble the plays of Middleton in thought, in style, and in phrasing. The *SMT* is particularly close to a group of Middleton plays that were almost certainly written after 1611; *RT* is particularly close to a group written between about 1602 and 1608. It would perhaps be possible to explain some of the resemblances—say those between the *SMT* and the later Middleton—by a theory of imitation, but it would be much more difficult to explain all of them in the same way. One would have to believe that Middleton was a close student of two anonymous tragedies, that he formed his early style after he had read the first of them, that he subsequently changed his style after he had read the second. But this is not very likely, quite apart from the eccentric dating that it involves. A more reasonable belief would seem to be that Middleton was himself the author of both plays.

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¹⁴Edward Arbet, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640* (London, 1875-94), III, 360.

¹⁵W. W. Greg, *A List of Masques, Pageants, &c.* (London, 1902), p. cii.

¹⁶Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, II, 264, 272.

¹⁷Felix E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642* (Boston and New York, 1910), I, 568.

¹⁸Olyphant, "Problems of Authorship in Elizabethan Dramatic Literature," pp. 427-428.

¹⁹Sykes, "Cyril Tourneur."

²⁰Olyphant, "The Authorship of 'The Revenger's Tragedy.'" See also Olyphant, *Beaumont and Fletcher*, pp. 90-92, and *Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists*, II, 1-3.

²¹Letters in *Times Literary Supplement*, April 23, 1931, and June 18, 1931. Also Wilbur D. Dunkel, "The Authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy*," *PMLA*, XLVI (1931), 781-785.

²²Tourneur, *Works*, pp. 18-20.

²³T. S. Eliot, *Selected Essays, 1917-1932* (New York, 1932), pp. 161-162. See

also letters by Oliphant and Eliot in *T.L.S.*, December 18, 1930, January 1, 1931, February 5, 1931; and Oliphant, "Tourneur and Mr. T. S. Eliot," *Studies in Philology*, XXXII (1935), 546-552.

²⁴U. M. Ellis-Fermor, "The Imagery of 'The Revengers Tragedie' and 'The Atheists Tragedie,'" *Modern Language Review*, XXX (1935), 289-301. See also Harold Jenkins, "Cyril Tourneur," *Review of English Studies*, XVII (1941), 21-36.

²⁵T. M. Parrott and R. H. Ball, *A Short View of Elizabethan Drama* (New York, 1943), pp. 215-216.

²⁶"Serious business" appears in *Women Beware Women*, II, ii, 18 and IV, i, 182; "You speak oracle" (which is close to "'Tis Oracle") in *Father Hubbard's Tales*, VIII, 101. Middleton is fond of antithetical couplets and of the contraction 't for it.

²⁷Tourneur, *Works*, p. 19.

²⁸Eliot, *Selected Essays*, p. 162.

²⁹As a preliminary step, Miss Ellis-Fermor classifies the images in both plays; but her classification is not always accurate. See, for example, "The Imagery of 'The Revengers Tragedie' and 'The Atheist's Tragedie,'" p. 297, where she apparently sets down the metaphor of grinding the executioner's axe (*Revenger's Tragedy*, III, i, 29-30) as an image from domestic life.

³⁰Parrott and Ball, *Short View*, p. 216.

³¹See Paul Wenzel, *Cyril Tourneurs Stellung in der Geschichte des englischen Dramas* (Breslau, 1918), pp. 111, 112, 117, 122-123.

A PROLOGUE FOR *THE WINTER'S TALE*,

ACTS IV AND V

Accompanied by Dumbshow
An outdoor presentation

by

The Masque and Gown
Bowdoin College

May 21, 1943

Text by Stanley P. Chase
Stage directions by George H. Quinby

The Prologue is read from a scroll by an actor in Elizabethan costume, who introduces the personages of the play as they appear in dumb show. Entrances are made UC, UR, UL, DR, and DL. A bench is at C. Action at the Court of Sicily is kept right stage, and departures to Bohemia are to the left.

Immediately after the Prologue, the acting of the play with lines is begun with Act III, Scene iii.

THE PROLOGUE

*Enter Prologue
C, with scroll.
Bows, and X to
above bench.*

Your patience, gentles, till we shall unfold
A story of an age long past, but now
Set forth anew by our good friend and fellow,
Will Shakespeare.

[Foot on bench.]
[Gesture R.]

ONCE UPON A TIME—how long

Ago I know not, but 'twas when Sicilia
Was yet a kingdom of that Grecian world
That Athens peopled; still from Sicily went
Its yearly gift to Delphi's Oracle,
Where was the hallowed shrine of great Apollo.
Hardly could it have been the age of Pericles,
Or of Theocritus, for other kingdoms
Then flourished that those worthies knew not of.
Bohemia's pleasant vales and meadows sloped
Down to the sea-coast—for Bohemia had
A sea-coast then—and, league on league across
The eastern steppes, held mighty Russia sway.
The rulers of those states sent embassies
Each to the other, made alliances
Through marriage of their daughters and their sons,
Paid visits,—quite as did the feudal lords

[Gesture L.]

Of the later Europe that we know; nor was
The daily life of men much different,
Truly to speak, from that of this our London
Of good King James. Yet all were worshippers
Of Jupiter and Juno, Mars, and bright Apollo,—
Or thus, saith Will, the ancient records say;
'Twere best, methinks, to take his word, nor press
Too curious inquiry.

[X ULC]

ONCE UPON A TIME,

Whenever 'twas, there ruled in Sicily
A king, still young, Leontes, generous

30

[Enter Leontes
UR.]

[Enter Cleo-
menes, Dion, and
others UR, bow
to King, and
break to UR.]

[Enter Hermi-
one, UR. Cour-
tiers bow. Leon.
leads her to seat
at C.]

[Mamilius runs
in R and sits by
Herm. Leon.
pats his head.]

[Enter Camillo
DR. Bows.
Crosses to other
courtiers UR.]

[Enter Paulina
UR; whispers to
Herm., who
smiles; then
joins courtiers.]

[Enter Antigo-
nus UR.]

[Cam. gestures
off DR.]

[Herm. and
Mam. rise.]

[Enter Polixenes
DR; goes to
Leon., who
greets him
warmly, URC.]

[Pol. bows, and
gestures off L.]

And noble-hearted, such that all the court
Held him in thought less as their sovereign lord
Than as a brother—e'en the more because

He was married to Hermione, than whom
There was no lady in Sicilia, none,
More gracious or more bless'd in every gift
Of mind and heart. By her Leontes had

A son, Mamilius, now a five-years' boy,
Of promise sorting well his parentage.
No faintest shade of jealousy had e'er
Clouded the love betwixt this royal pair;
Her husband he, but still her lover. Chief

40

Among his counsellors, Camillo stood,
By title "Cup-bearer"; older somewhat
Than Leontes, wise in ways of court and world,
A loyal friend. Of ladies o' the court, one
Was very close to Queen Hermione:
By name, Paulina, something sharp of tongue,
Forsooth, but downright, great of heart and spirit.

Her spouse Antigonus was called, a sportsman,
Whose talk was of his stables and the races.

Fortunate in his marriage, King Leontes

Was also blessed in a life-long friendship with

Polixenes, companion of his bosom
From boyhood days, and crown'd Bohemia's King;
Who, after many years of separation,
Has paid a nine months' visit at the court

Of Sicily, and now would take his leave,
Despite entreaties of Leontes and

- Hermione that he prolong his visit 60
 One month more. Polixenes is urging
 The pressure of affairs, desire to see
 His family, and most of all his son,
 Young Florizel, almost the same in years
 As Prince Mamilius. But still Leontes
 Will not be satisfied, and begs Hermione
 Once more to pray their guest that he delay
 His going. She complies with this request,
 To so good purpose that Polixenes,
 Won over, promises a month's extension 70
 Of his stay. But as she pled, in innocence
 Of friendship and entreaty hospitable
- [*Pol. X to Mam.
and puts hand
on head.*]
- [*Herm. X to
Pol.*]
- [*Pol. leads
Herm. to exit
DR, followed by
all but Leon. and
Cam.*]
- [*Leon. shows
suspicion and
calls Cam. to
him.*]
- [*Leon. paces
back and forth
while Cam. tries
to calm him.*]
- Taking his hand, Leontes has conceived
 So shameful a suspicion that I shrink
 Even from naming it. Such disorder'd thoughts
 The gods, or demons, sometimes send to plague
 The best of men. Leontes sees his Queen,
 His friend, as guilty lovers; feels the horns
 Sprouting upon his forehead; thinks the babe
 With whom Hermione grows round apace, 80
 The unlawful issue of Polixenes;
 And presently divines a monstrous plot
 Against his life, his state, his crown. In short,
 This King becomes as 'twere a man possess'd:
 No argument can pierce, no feeling touch
 His changèd mind; but all his former love
 Is turned to hate and longing for revenge.
 Camillo, who receives his confidence,
 In vain protests against the baseless charge,
 But finally consents to do his bidding, 90
 Which is, this very night to kill Polixenes
 By mixing in his drink a deadly drug:
 This easily the "Cup-bearer" might do.
 But secretly Camillo all this while
 Is thinking fast and hard; the transformation
- [*Cam. nods
head. Leon. ges-
tures pouring
wine, pats Cam.
on shoulder, and
exit UR.*]
- [*Cam. X DRC.
Pol. enters DR,
X to Cam., who
gestures UR.
Pol. shows sur-
prise and ges-
tures off L. As
they exeunt UL,
Dion enters DR
and X to call
Leon. UR.*]
- Of the King he sees for what it is, sheer madness,
 And so finds means in season to acquaint
 Polixenes of the plot against him, and
 To aid him in escape,—the fleeing guest
 Himself accompanying, to make his home 100
 Henceforth in far Bohemia.

[*Leon. enters*
UR, X UC shak-
ing fist, sends
Dion DR for
Herm. She enters
DR, followed by
court. Leon. up-
braids her. All
react with
horror.]

Leontes,
Told of the flight that foiled his wish'd revenge
Upon the Queen's suppos'd paramour,
On her now turns his rage, in open court
Accusing her of infidelity,
In terms most gross, of plots and treacheries,
And all, I know not what, his sick mind shapes
Of foul surmise. How must we pity her,
So loyal, true, of noble lineage born
(The daughter of the Emperor of Russia),
Insulted, spurn'd, like common prostitute 110
Or "lazar kite of Cressid's kind," by him
Who swore to love and cherish her! At first,
Surpris'd, she scarce can comprehend his meaning;
Then, as the drift grows plain, in all the power
Of injur'd womanhood she makes reply
Courageous, clear and strong, yet temperate

[*Herm. turns to*
Paul., who
shrugs shoulders
and shakes
head.]

[*Herm. faces*
Leon. and re-
plies.]

Withal: "No, by my life! How will this grieve you,
When you shall come to clearer knowledge, that
You thus have publish'd me! Gentle my lord,
You scarce can right me thoroughly then to say 120
You did mistake." She lacks not champions:
The courtiers one and all denounce this rash,
High-handed action of a king who seems
Transform'd from the man they've known before.
Defying his command, with hands clench'd tight
And blazing eyes, they loose their angry tongues
Against him,—none with greater vehemence
Than good Paulina and Antigonus.
But all without avail; they cannot change
The horrible fix'd purpose of the King,
Whose sway is absolute. Hermione 130
Is led away to prison, there to await
A formal trial.

[*Leon. turns*
away. All
courtiers move
in on him.]

[*Leon. turns on*
them and ges-
tures. Dion exit
DR and returns
with Gaoler,
who leads Herm.
off DR. followed
by Paul.]

[*Leon. beckons*
to Dion and
Cleo. and in-
structs them.
They bow and
exeunt UR, fol-
lowed by
Antig.]

As is customary
In matters of such weight, the King despatches
Couriers to the Oracle at Delphi—
Cleomenes and Dion were their names—
To ask the judgment of Apollo on
The charge against the Queen.

Three weeks go by.
Mamilius, who is of tender thought
Beyond his years, grows ill from sorrow at 140
His mother's plight. Leontes,—shunn'd by all,
Tormented in his mind, bereft of sleep,

[*Leon. enters*
UR with scroll;
X and sits C.]

- [*Antig. enters UR. X DR to guard entrance.*] And plagued by nightly terrifying visions,—
Is worn and haggard: still his purpose holds.
- [*Paul. enters DR carrying baby, pushes past Antig., goes to Leon., and holds out baby to him.*] One day, Paulina, though he has forbidden
Her entry, brushes past the palace guards,
In her arms the baby girl Hermione
Has been delivered of in prison. This
She lays at his feet, bespeaking his protection.
- [*He rises, calls Antig., and indicates baby. Antig. shows indignation.*] The King is stirred to fury, deeming it 150
The bastard offspring of Polixenes,
And orders it committed to the flames
Forthwith; but such reproach and clamor rise
From all the courtiers that he is persuaded
To cancel that decree and let the babe,
Instead, be banish'd—hard fate enough,
But mildest sentence they can wrest from him.
He bids Antigonus to take the child
To some remote and desert place, and there
To leave it unprotected. This, upon 160
His sacred oath, the lord has sworn to do.
In due course ye shall witness what ensues.
The day set for the trial comes at last.
Cleomenes and Dion are returned
Bearing the message of the Oracle,
- [*Cleo. and Dion enter DR with scroll and X URG.*] The seals unbroken. Now Hermione
Must make her answer to the monstrous charge.
Alas, that one so virtuous, so kind,
So true, must suffer such indignities
As never queen endured! The accusation 170
Is read, the so-called evidence detailed—
All figments of the King's diseas'd mind.
- [*Leon. reads from his scroll. Gestures to Herm., and sits C.*] A calm, well reasoned plea Hermione
Presents, in which, not deigning to refute
Particulars, she bases her defence
Upon the lack of all substantial proof,
And on her own known purity and honor.
The King, however, deaf to reason's voice,
Is but the more determined to undo her.
Confident of the god's support, he calls 180
On Dion and Cleomenes to render
Great Apollo's answer. Silence falls
On all the assemblage, as they break the seals;
And this is what is read:
"Hermione is chaste; Polixenes blameless;
- [*Leon. rises and gestures to Dion, who reads from his scroll.*]

Camillo a true subject; Leontes a jealous tyrant; his innocent babe truly begotten; and the king shall live without an heir, if that which is lost be not found."

"Praised!" is the single word her lips let fall. . . .

[*All react strongly.*]

[*Leon. grabs scroll and tears it.*]

[*Messenger enters DR and speaks. Paul. helps Herm. exit UR. Messenger, Gaoler, and Judge ex-eunt DR.*]

[*Leon. drops on bench C.*]

"He whom the gods do wish destroyed, they first Make mad." Leontes swears there is no truth I' the verdict; he blasphemes the Oracle Of great Apollo; and the sure fulfilment Of great Apollo's Oracle begins: 190
Mamilius, so says one entering,
From grieving o'er his mother's grief, has died.
And as the madness came upon Leontes
Suddenly, so all suddenly it goes:

By grief helped of his blindness, sight returns:
"Apollo's angry, and the gods themselves
Do strike at my injustice." But too late!
At news of her son's death, Hermione,
Fainting, was carried from the room, and now
Paulina comes with tidings of one more, 200
One last, one crowning loss—O miserable!—
The Queen herself, Hermione, has died.

And thus this King, through causeless jealousy,
Has lost his wisest counsellor Camillo,
His friend Polixenes, his son, his daughter,
And, last, his Queen. Henceforth in penitence
And sorrow he will pass his wretched days,
Surrounded by a court that loves him well
But still remembers. . . .

Mamilius had said, "A sad tale's best 210
For winter"—child's unconscious prophecy
Of these so sad events. But look around:
Not winter, but the jocund spring is here;
And in what now ensues we promise you
Some spring-time scenes that shall assuage the pain
Your gentle hearts have felt. Still, ere we come
To those, there is one further grievous sight
That we must show: Antigonus exposing
The babe named Perdita on foreign shore.
'Tis on the sea-coast of Bohemia 220
He lands, and tenderly lays down the child
According to his oath.

[*Paul. enters UR, X to Leon., gestures UR, shakes fist at Leon., and exit UR. Courtiers X and kneel by Leon. He rises and exit UR slowly, followed by courtiers.*]

[*Prologue X to above bench.*]

[*Prolog. X UC.*]

My part is done:
Farewell! Forget not what I promised you:
One more distressful sight to bear, and then
Heigh ho, for sunburnt mirth and love i' the spring-time!

[*Prolog. exit UC.*]

LA MISA DEL GALLO AND SHAKSPERE'S "BIRD OF DAWNING"

By T. M. PEARCE

THOSE who subscribe to the universality of Shakspeare's genius will not be surprised that a religious festival in a New Mexican village should supply a commentary upon a well known passage in one of his greatest plays, nor that unlettered farmers in a small Spanish town would comprehend more fully the passage in question than all the editors in English who have conned his plays since they first appeared. Of course, the rural folk in New Mexico could never have witnessed a Shakspeare play, because, first, no playhouse of a formal kind has ever existed in their communities, and, second, plays in English would not appeal to people whose native tongue is Spanish. But, granted a common medium of communication and an appropriate presentation, the New Mexican villagers would understand Shakspeare at this point better than the most literate and sophisticated audience. And, so far as I have been able to discover, they would comprehend him better than the scholars who have ransacked the libraries for parallels to every reference in his plays.

The passage to which I refer is *Hamlet*, I, i, 158-60. Horatio has accompanied Marcellus to see the phantom reported by the guards who have beheld it on the ramparts of Elsinore twice previously. "Thus twice before, and jump at this dead hour, with martial stalk hath he gone by our watch," explains Marcellus to Horatio, who has doubted the reality of such spectacles. After the ghost's manifestation, Horatio confesses the "fear and wonder" it has provoked in him and predicts some "strange eruption" to the state. He calls to mind the portents in the night before Julius Caesar was murdered. The like precursor and harbingers have appeared as omens to other portentous events. The ghost returns and the watchers strive to stop it. The phantom attempts to speak. A cock crows, and, startled, like a guilty thing, the ghost withdraws again. Horatio observes:

I have heard
The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,
Doth with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat
Awake the god of day; and at his warning,
Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
Th' extravagant and erring spirit hies
To his confine; and of the truth herein
This present object made probation.

Marcellus has heard a like report, though his information is more specific as to time and place. He replies:

It faded on the crowing of the cock.
Some say that ever, 'gainst that season comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long;
And then, they say, no spirit dare stir abroad.
The nights are wholesome, then no planets strike,
No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm,
So hallow'd and so gracious is the time.

Horatio is familiar with this folk tale. "So I have heard," he affirms, "and do in part believe it." Then he points out the coming of dawn over "you high eastward hill." He and Marcellus go off to acquaint young Hamlet with the experiences of the night.

In this passage, both Marcellus and Horatio indicate that there is a popular belief that on the eve of Christmas, the cock, or "bird of dawning," sings in honor of the Christ child. His song signals a night of blessedness when evil is thwarted, and "hallowed" and "gracious" is the time. It is this folk belief, in part credited by Horatio, that is so fully accepted by Spanish natives in New Mexico today.

Scholars have supplied very little that is helpful on this passage.¹ Kittredge has pertinent notes on Horatio's reference to the crowing of the cock as a warning of sunrise, when "trolls, devils, and the like" flee the sunlight. He gives citations to *Midsummer Night's Dream* and to Prudentius' *Ad Galli Cantium*. But of Marcellus' speech about the "bird of dawning" and the season of "our Saviour's birth" Kittredge has only two rather indirect notes. Both are etymological: l. 158, "'gainst" as "just before," and l. 162, "wholesome" as "free not only from witchcraft and demonic influence, but from contagion, which was com-

monly ascribed to the night air. Cf. *Julius Caesar*, i, 1, 265, 266."²

Near Albuquerque, the seat of the state university, where tomes of Shakspeare scholarship are housed in the library, is the little town of Belén, New Mexico. The name of the town is Spanish, and corresponds in English to the name Bethlehem. In Belén, on Christmas Eve, as in other communities where there are Catholic churches, midnight masses are sung. In Spanish Catholic communities, however, the service is called *La Misa del Gallo*, an idiomatic phrase among all Spanish speaking peoples for the mass of Christmas Eve or Christmas morning.³ In the Philippines, there is a little hill-town called Janiway, on Panay island, where *La Misa del Gallo* is accompanied by a folk practice which illustrates the ancient belief about the adoration of the *Niño de Dios* by the cock and by other members of the animal kingdom. During the mass a bell is rung and at this signal worshippers in the congregation bleat, crow, and moo, creating a harmony of sounds such as creatures beside the manger may have made seeking the blessing of Christ.⁴ One of the parishioners in the church at Belén was among the workmen constructing a house for the writer. He asked me if I knew how Belén came to be named. I did not. "You know on Christmas Eve, when Christ is born, the animals are in the manger?" I nodded. "Well, then the lamb says, 'Bee-ee-lén.'" He pronounced this with a drawn out, bleating sound. "And the rooster says, 'Cree-ess-to na-aa-ció. Cristo nació. Christ is born.'"

La Misa del Gallo is only one of the ceremonies celebrated by the Spanish Americans at the season of the nights called *Las Posadas*. The phrase means "The Inns" or "The Houses." A brief description of the services in the houses of the villagers during *Las Posadas* may indicate how "gracious" the time really becomes.

Nine nights before Christmas eve various people in the village ask for the privilege of erecting altars in their homes. One house, with its altar, is chosen for the ceremonies of each night. The villagers gather there for prayers and hymns. The altar is decorated with paper flowers and lighted by candles. On the altar are statues of Joseph and

Mary. After the service, the statues are carried in procession to the house of a neighbor where the meeting is to be held the next night. In front of this house, the people sing the traditional song in which Joseph asks to be admitted to the inn. Someone within the house sings a response refusing to admit him or Mary. Then, after further pleading, the parents of Jesus are admitted. All the company follows and the host for that evening offers wine, cookies, and other refreshments. The pageant continues the remaining nights, with progress of the statues from house to house until the night before Christmas. On that night the statues are taken to the church where an altar has been especially prepared. Here Mary, Joseph, and the Christ Child in his cradle, are placed upon the altar, and the worshippers await the midnight mass.

Frequently during Christmas week a play called *Los Pastores* accompanies *Las Posadas*. The play re-enacts the story of the shepherds and the star of Bethlehem, supplemented by warfare between St. Michael and the Devil, and humorous dialogue between a lazy shepherd named Bartolo and his companions.

La Misa del Gallo disappeared in England with the Reformation.⁵ Miracle plays were transmuted into finer dramatic ore, witness Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* and the "Good Angel—Bad Angel" lines of Laucelot Gobbo in Shakspeare's *Merchant of Venice*. In New Mexico, however, when "that season comes wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated," *La Misa del Gallo*, of a fact, confirms the power of goodness to thwart witches and evil spirits, and the natives, after viewing *Los Pastores* on the Holy Eve, cry "Feliz Natividad," for it is "La Nochebuena" or the "good," "gracious," time.

The University of N. M., Albuquerque

¹On lines 158-160. I have found no comment in the editing of H. H. Furness (18773, Israel Gollancz (1901), E. K. Chambers (1917), Hardin Craig (1931), Parrot and Helfer (1931), Holzknecht and McClure (1936), G. L. Kittredge (1939), or Neilson and Hill (1942).

²*Five Plays of Shakespeare*, G. L. Kittredge, ed., 1939, "Hamlet," p. 137.

³Real Academia Española. *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, Décima Sexta Edición, 1939.

⁴This information is supplied by John David DeHuff, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

⁵*The Book of Days*, R. Chambers, ed., Vol. II, pp. 736-37.

INFORMATION WANTED

To meet the requirements of scholars engaged in certain researches, we would be very grateful to persons sending us information regarding Shakspeare clubs and associations in America. The information required includes the following data: Name and address of the club or association, whether incorporated, date when organized, number of members, name of chairman or president, name and address of secretary, dues per annum, frequency of meetings, purpose of the organization, character of Shakspeare study, list of publications (if any) by members or the association, list of members and their occupations or professions. Send information to the editor, Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum, 601 West 113th St., New York 25, N. Y.

October, 1945

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The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



Milton's Sonnet on the Massacre
in Piedmont

Claudius Not a Patchcock

The Reality of Shakspeare's "Supers"

Husbands in Shakspeare

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The Shakespeare Association of America aims to unite all the lovers of the poet and to encourage and enlarge the widespread interest in his works. It will serve as a means of communication in the Shakesperian world, reporting what is being done in his honor or service, whether on the stage or in the schoolroom, in club or in university. Its purpose includes co-operation in every enterprise that will be helpful to a knowledge of the man and his works, whether scholarly, educational, or theatrical.

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MILTON'S SONNET ON THE MASSACRE IN PIEDMONT

By KESTER SVENDSEN

VERY little public attention has been paid to the inner workings of the verse or the language and imagery in Milton's sonnets.¹ Exigencies of space and taste have persuaded editors and critics to deal mostly with the problem of general sonnet structure and Milton's supposed deviation from the Italian model. The profit with which one may examine the rhetorical and metrical effects in these brief poems will perhaps appear from an exploration of the sonnet on the massacre in Piedmont, commonly regarded as "the most elevated and passionate of all, as it is the finest composition in verse."² Conscious artistry such as we have come to identify with Milton should be and is, eventually, accessible to analysis.

The formal shape of the poem requires a word, for it is one of the group generally accepted as superior to those which follow the so-called classical Italian structure. Pattison was inclined to see in the supposed variations the stroke of a rebellious and original Milton;³ thus the achievement of the sonnet might be thought to derive in part from its break with tradition. Quite aside from the fact that Milton had precedent enough in the sonnets of Della Casa⁴ to dispense with the identification of rhetorical and metrical pause at the end of the eighth line, the success of the sonnet can be shown, I think, to arise from a totality of several other factors.

Before considering these, however, it is well to note a remark of Pattison's about the language of the sonnet, for he thought the poem succeeded in spite of the "hackneyed biblical phrases of which it is composed."⁵ It would be nearer the truth to argue that the sonnet succeeds because of them, for they create a tone of religious indignation quite in keeping with the dramatic intensity of the prayer and the Old Testament flavor of the opening lines. The context of allusion in words which refer to God as the shepherd, to

the murderers as Babylonian, and then to God as the sower in the parable, can only serve to heighten the religious feeling. These passages are not received as cliché so much as they are felt to be part of the common understanding of men in a century when biblical language appealed strongly to the imagination. Every word except five occurs in some form in the Bible,⁶ and the parallelism in sentence structure increases the scriptural effect. The deliberate simplicity of the language appears further from the fact that, except for two proper names, all the words are native English, most of them Anglo-Saxon in origin;⁷ and finally, most of the words are monosyllables.⁸

I

To begin with, the statement of the sonnet falls into three logical, if not traditional parts. The first part invokes the vengeance of God upon the murderous Piedmontese; the third asks that He sow the blood and ashes of the martyrs over Italy, so that others may understand the nature of violence and fly from the church of Rome and its impending destruction to the true religion. The second part consists of the lines

Their moans
The Vales redoubl'd to the Hills, and they
To Heav'n.

These lines effect a special kind of transition. In the first part of the pome, the scene is on the earth at present time—the bones lie scattered on the cold mountains. The lines of the second part make a transition from earth where the massacre occurs to Heaven where it will be judged. In the third part, the real scene is in Heaven, to which the moans have been redoubled, and the earth is presented not merely as it is now, but as Milton hopes it will be in future time. The additional function of these transitional lines in supporting a change in tone will be noted later.

Since the quality of passionate and elevated tone has seemed the most striking characteristic of the sonnet, it may be well to inquire how that tone is set and sustained by the words and images. The fundamental method is contrast and

paradox. The innocence of the martyred Waldensians is set against the brutality of the bloody Piedmontese. The exact and immutable justice of the Protestant God in Heaven is confidently opposed to the temporary power of the Babylonian and therefore uncertain Papacy on earth. Most significantly, there is contrast even in the ideas of Deity. The God of the first part of the poem is a God of vengeance, an Old Testament Jehovah, invoked by a true believer for a terrible retribution upon the oppressors of the chosen people. But the God of the third part is the New Testament God, a Christian God of non-violence and comfort. The third part particularizes the opening word "Avenge" in such a way that God's greatest gift (the object of Milton's prayer, the vengeance) is not extracting an eye for an eye or a life for a life, but providing man with a view of evil in its true effects. Thus the "way" that the "hunder'd-fold" will learn is that of a Christian God who brings good out of evil.

The whole system of contrasts is pointed up by the paradox of the first line: "slaughter'd Saints." *Slaughter* connotes brutality and wilful, vicious killing; it is the last quality or state of mind that would be associated with the unworldly, peaceful nature of a saint. And saints are the last people one would expect to be treated like cattle. From this point of view, it is almost as difficult to conceive of saints being slaughtered as it is to conceive of them slaughtering. It is from this unexpected juxtaposition (enforced by alliteration) of brutality and innocence that the feelings of horror and passionate indignation arise, to be sustained and extended by the development of the poem. Thus the overtones of defenselessness and innocence connoted by the familiar image of the sheepfold and by words like *pure* and *mother with infant* acquire a fresh intensity from the contrasting connotations of the word *slaughter'd* and the epithet *bloody Piedmontese*. *Bloody* itself means bloody-minded or blood-thirsty. But in context with words like *slaughter'd* and *sheep*, *bloody* means bloody-handed, or smeared with blood of slaughter.

The dramatic force of the situation is achieved in part

by the metonymy in the image: "bones/ Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold." The massacre seems all the more terrible when we think of the naked and unprotected bones dispersed over the cold Alps, not heaped together (which might suggest a kind of warmth from huddling), but with long reaches and distances of snow and ice between. The suggestion of broken and scattered fragments of a whole people intensifies the sense of desolation, but simultaneously it implies an even greater power in the God who can bring good out of this desperate evil. And this intensity is supported by the note of self-criticism struck in the line "When all our Fathers worship't Stocks and Stones." Milton was thinking of the images of wood and stone to be found in the English cathedrals long after the Waldensian sect had arisen and still characteristic of the Babylonian (image-worshiping) Piedmontese. Contemptuously comparing those ornate and ceremonious effigies to savage stone and stick worship effects a bitter contrast between the forces in conflict and seems to impute some of the guilt to the late-changing English.

The idea of divine justice invoked by the image "in thy book record their groanes" marks the progression toward the later concept of God's vengeance. God will record⁹ the injuries partly to hold the Piedmontese to an exact accounting, and partly to comfort or reward those who have suffered for the faith. It is as if upon the engrossing of the groans of the victims in God's book, His strict justice will inevitably occur. The immediately succeeding figure of the true believers as sheep and in their ancient fold evokes the concept of God as a shepherd or pastor concerned more for the welfare of his flock than for the punishment of wolves.¹⁰

Except for one after-image of horror, the crimes of the Piedmontese reach a final climax in the lines "That roll'd/ Mother with Infant down the Rocks." Even the place itself becomes an enemy as we move with the poem from the icy Alpine mountains to the quiet sheepfold, suddenly a place of slaughter, and then to the rocks down which mother and child are thrown. The overtone in *roll'd* is unmistakable; it epitomizes the brutal indifference of the Piedmontese,

who might be said to *hurl* a warrior but who with macabre humor callously *roll* a mother and child to death. The after-image mentioned above comes out in the word *ashes*, which expresses a horror not stated before, that some of the Waldensians were burned. The word suggests further, and ironically, the sort of harvest the Piedmontese may expect to reap from this sowing.¹¹ It suggests, finally, that the vengeance of the Lord is not of this world and thus violent, but a mystical and miraculous compensation.¹² Only in the sense of acting upon their recognition of the true effects of evil can the "hunder'd-fold" be said to grow from blood and ashes. The image is unified by the reference to the Italian *fields*, the proper place for sowing and growing.

The triumphant close to the poem arises not merely from the conviction that God need only make known the massacre for hundreds to fly to the true religion, but also from the grim emphasis upon the temporary nature of the tyrant's power. If the biblical context of *Babylonian* always brings to mind idolatry, pagan luxury, irreligion, and abuse of power, it also promises inevitable decay and destruction. Thus the significance of the term is proleptic and prophetic. And the two-edged implication of *sway* is apparent: the triple tyrant sways, or rules, over the Italian fields; but a ruler who sways upon his throne is an unsure ruler, a tottering king. The slaughter of the Waldensians, in final effect, thus sows the destruction of the tyrant's power. The phrase "fly the Babylonian wo" is, characteristically enough, a warning as well as a prophecy.

II

It now remains to see what part the technical factors have in producing the texture or quality of passionate indignation and power defined by the words and images. It is clear that the second, or transitional, part is structurally the most important in the poem, since by its careful distinction of place and time it supports the idea of a higher justice and helps prevent the impression that righteous wrath has declined into mere resignation. Alliteration, assonance, the skilful adjustment of harsh and liquid sounds, as well as

the variation in metrical structure, are organically a part of the final tension produced by the poem.

Something has already been said of the linking effect of the alliteration in *slaughter's Saints*. The contemptuous tone of *Stocks* and *Stones* and the suggestion of almost limitless power and wickedness in *Triple Tyrant* are similarly strengthened by the repetition of initial consonants. The whole clause "where STill doth Sway / The Triple Tyrant" achieves a special unity and texture of its own from the alliteration of *s* and *t* and the assonance of *i*. In addition, the alliteration here and elsewhere contributes to a feeling of pattern and control, an impression further enriched by the alliteration of the rime words *GRoanes*, *GRow*, *Sow-Sway*, *Way-Wo*. The most apparent result of the assonance of words like *cOld*, *Old*, *Fold*, *ROLL'd*, *sOw*, *GrOw*, and *wO* with *bOnes*, *stOnes*, *GrOances*, and *mOans* is to give the rimes an evenness of texture which, with the other vowel sounds in the poem, increases the fluid effect of the structure and the sense of organic unity in the poem.

A further effect of the rime words appears from this situation. If, as some find them, *groanes* and *moans* are onomatopoeic or echoic words, in that their sounds suggest the ideas they convey, words like *bones* and *stones*, which are by no stretch echoic themselves, become tinged with the flavor of their rime-words and tend to repeat and confirm the effect of the words *groanes* and *moans*. Simultaneously with this impression of fluidity, the limited number of rimes (there are only four), like the basic metrical pattern itself, emphasizes the necessary, contrasting sense of restraint, and control. Except for the slight pause at the end of line two, there are no end—stopped lines; the stops occur at different points within the lines. This fact, the flexible caesura, and the run-on lines increase the sense of sustained movement and the feeling that the poet is in perfect control of his form. If it is too much to allow that Milton's constriction of his thought into four rimes compensates for the freedom observed elsewhere to produce a tension or balance of its own, certainly the effect of culmination produced by the form accommodates perfectly the deepening quality of the

thought, which rises from blood and slaughter to a height of Christian forbearance and achievement.

The metrical variations within the lines are intentional and the function of them is clearly to strengthen the meaning of the lines. The most striking of these is the substitution and division in line five. The preceding line, "When all our Fathers worship't Stocks and Stones," exhibits a deliberately contrasting conventional regularity. But since the rhetorical arrangement of the first sentence emphasizes the periodic word *not*, the shift of accent is natural and necessary: "Forget not: in thy book record their groanes." The rhetoric plus the shifted accent creates the sweep of the line to a kind of emotional peak; and the words *Forget not* close off one section of the thought.

A comparable shift in pattern occurs in other lines where the first word is rhetorically emphatic:

Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old.

* * *

Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that roll'd

* * *

Mother with Infant down the Rocks. Their moans

* * *

Early may fly the Babylonian wo.

The word *ev'n* stresses the enormity of the crime, just as the substituted trochees *slain by* and *mother* help to signalize the sudden horror and the pathos. These metrical variations are not merely in accord with the effect of sweeping indignation created by the words; taken with the sense of the words, they themselves in part produce the power and

movement in Milton's indignation at the slaughter of the Waldensians.

The selection of language assumes further meaning in view of the "technique of dissonance" employed in the poem. The preponderance of harsh, sibilant, nasal, and guttural sounds occurs in the first part of the sonnet in words like *avenge*, *scatter'd*, *cold*, *stocks*, *stones*, and *rocks*. In the latter part, the liquid sounds of *l* and *r* predominate, as in *redoubl'd*, *hills*, *all*, *hunder'd-fold*, *early*. These sounds are played off against one another in such single words as *scatter'd*, *record*, and *slain*, and continued in words and phrases throughout the poem. The shift in prominence from sounds which in context with the words give strength and fiber to sounds which lend ease and grace is part of the change in tone and part of the system of contrasts noted earlier. The lines are linked internally by parallelism in sentence structure and by the repetition not only of words (such as *their* and *thy*), but also of patterns of sound, such as the assonance of *o* and *a* and the repetition of the *th* sound, which occurs once in every line and in six of the lines twice or thrice.

III

Thus the technical elements of the poem, alliteration, assonance, metrical variation, cacophony, and euphony support and signalize the statement of the lines and the force of the images, and are organically responsible for the movement of the poem, for the impression of passion and fluid power in the sweep of the lines held in exquisite control. This consummately conscious artistry enables both poet and reader to preserve aesthetic distance. Perception of these effects enriches the poem for the reader; the precise adjustment of sound and sense, of pattern and variation, lends conviction and sincerity to the thought and persuades us that the poet does control the experience and does communicate it to the reader. Milton, though powerfully moved by the massacre to a powerful language of righteous anger and religious indignation, is not beside himself; he is beside the reader. None of this is surprising upon our realization that

the Milton of this late-written sonnet was about to engage, if not already engaged upon the most consciously wrought piece of great art in the English language.

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¹The field of Milton's language is generally unexplored. George P. Marsh's *Lectures on the English Language* (New York, 1861) is the most comprehensive work available, despite its age. Some idea of the possibilities in this direction may be gained from George C. Taylor's "Milton's English," *N & Q*, CLXXVIII (1940), 56-57, which shows that conventional assumptions about Milton's language in *Lycidas* must be abandoned. R. M. Lumiansky, "Milton's English Again," *MLN*, LV (1940), 591-594, supports Taylor's conclusions by an analysis of the language of *L'Allegro*.

²John S. Smart, ed., *The Sonnets of John Milton* (Glasgow, 1921), p. 99. Frank A. Patterson, ed., *The Student's Milton* (New York, 1939), p. 54, calls it "perhaps the greatest in English literature" and urges careful study of the sounds and sentence structure. Harris Fletcher, ed., *The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton* (New Cambridge ed. Cambridge, Mass., 1941), p. 133, describes it as "easily the most powerful sonnet ever written."

³Mark Pattison, ed., *The Sonnets of John Milton* (New York, 1883), pp. 46-52. Pattison argues Milton's sense of fitness rather than deference to authority as the reason for his recurrence to the Italian form at all.

⁴Milton owned and imitated the sonnets of Della Casa. See Smart, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-35; James H. Hanford, *A Milton Handbook* (rev. ed. New York, 1939), p. 172; *The Works of John Milton* (Columbia ed. New York, 1938), XVIII, 345, 573.

⁵*Op. cit.*, pp. 58-60. Alden Sampson, *Studies in Milton* (New York, 1913), p. 112, repeats this judgment with approval.

⁶See Strong's *Concordance Doubled* (Genesis 41:32, etc.) and *slaughter* (Genesis 14:17, etc.) occur, where *redoubled* and *slaughtered* do not. Two of these five not found in any form in the Bible are proper names: *Alpine*, *Piedmontese*, *sway*, *triple*, *tyrant*.

⁷The term *native* is used here in the sense proposed by Taylor in his study of *Lycidas* (and adopted by Lumiansky for *L'Allegro*), as descriptive of words in the language in some form prior to 1500. Allowing for the numerous pronouns and prepositions in the sonnet, it is still highly significant that its language is almost exclusively native. Perhaps it is interesting to note that over half of Milton's vocabulary appears in the Basic English list of Ogden and Richards.

⁸Well over eighty in the hundred-odd words of the poem. Only five words are more than two syllables long, and three of these are proper names. One effect of this predominance of monosyllables is to draw the poem out, make it seem longer than it really is, and thus give the impression of weight to what is said.

⁹This biblical concept of a justly recording God, a favorite with Milton, appears in somewhat different form in *Lycidas* and *Paradise Regained*.

¹⁰Compare the similar idea in *Areopagitica*: "For God sure esteems the growth and completing of one virtuous person, more then the restraint of ten vitious" (*The Works of John Milton, op. cit.*, IV, 320).

¹¹One is reminded of the devils and the golden fruit in *P. L.*, X, 547-71.

¹²With some allowance, the figure may be thought to blend the parable of the sower and the legend of the dragon's teeth.

CLAUDIUS NOT A PATCHOCK

By S. A. TANNENBAUM

Thirteen years ago I suggested in the pages of the Shakespeare Association BULLETIN that in *Hamlet*, III, ii, 300, just after the play-scene, the exhilarated and excited Prince called his villain-uncle a 'puttock' (a buzzard), the antithesis of 'Jove' (symbolised by the eagle) of whom Denmark had been 'dismantled,' (stripped). The oldest texts (the earliest Quartos and the first two Folios) read 'Paiock' and 'Paiocke'; Rowe, without a word of explanation, substituted 'pajock'—a word unknown to the English language before that time—and has been followed by almost all editors since then. Many scholars and editors disapproved of the substitution and proposed other emendations, 'patchock' and 'puttock' among them. My case for 'puttock' was based on the facts that in Gothic secretary script (the script in general use then) 'putock' could easily have been misread by the compositor as 'paiock' and that 'puttock' makes good sense.

In the current issue of *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (July 1945, 44:202-05) Mr. Roland M. Smith, of the University of Illinois, gives reasons for reading 'pajock'; in fact, he says that '*pajock* needs no emending.' He attributes my objections to 'pajock' to my 'pathetic confidence in the adequacy of NED' which is authority for the statement that 'pajock' occurs nowhere else in Elizabethan literature. Thereupon he informs his readers that in 1943 he had pointed out that 'McGrath [quoted by Furness], followed by Skeat, . . . [had] observed that *pajock* occurs earlier in Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland* [written in 1596, published in 1633] as *patchock*, which NED similarly labels 'known only in the passage cited'. The passage to which Mr. Smith refers described certain 'degenerate English as 'very patchockes as the wild Irish,'—an expression which, Mr. Smith says, Spenser 'apparently expected . . . to be readily understood by his English readers.' Students of Spenser know that he

employed many words which were not 'readily understood' by his contemporaries.

There are several serious—in fact, fatal—objections to the case Mr. Smith has built, but before we consider these it may be pointed out that he has not shown the NED to have been wrong in its statements regarding the uniqueness of both 'pajock' and 'patchock.' He does not refer us to a single other instance of the occurrence of either of these two words. Had he done so, he would have proved the NED wrong and would have been justified in his lament about my 'pathetic confidence' in that work.—And now to our objections to Mr. Smith's suggestion.

Mr. Smith seems to be unaware of the fact that there is no certainty that Spenser wrote 'patchok' in the passage cited. The NED is our authority for the statement that in 'Lambeth MS 510, which was the copy [of the *View*] submitted [by Spenser?] to the Archbishop of Canterbury for license, dated by Spenser and initialled E.S., . . . reads *patchcockes*. If Spenser's word was *patchcockes* it cannot be identified with *pajock*.

Secondly, no one knows what Spenser meant by the word *patchock*—if that was his word. On the authority of the Globe edition of the *View*, Mr. Smith says it meant '*the scumm of the Irish* dressed in their mantles or brats.' NED defines *patchock* thus: 'A term used by Spenser of the degenerate English in Ireland, either in reference to their character and habits, their mongrel breed, or their costume; a base or mean fellow, a ragamuffin.' Hamlet's uncle was not a ragamuffin, his costume was probably finer than his nephew's, he was not Irish, and he was not bred from worse stock than Hamlet. *Patchock* or *patchcock* is, therefore, hardly the word that Hamlet would have applied to his uncle. Obviously, if the meaning of the word is in doubt, it cannot be said to be applicable to Claudius.

Thirdly, even if we assume that Shakspeare had the word *patchock* in mind, there appears no valid reason why he should have altered it to *pajock*. To Mr. Smith 'the

variation in spelling offers no real problem, for the interchange of *dz* [soft *g*] and *ts* [*ch*] is much older than the regular British — and American — pronunciation of spinach.' Mr. Smith cites the instance of Shakspeare's Macmorris (in *Henry V*, III,ii) who says 'beseeched' for 'besieged.' It never seems to have struck Mr. Smith that Macmorris is in some respects a comic character and a dialect artist; Shakspeare also makes him say *ish* for *is*, *Chrish* for *Christ*, and *breach* for *bridge*. His mispronunciations contribute to the humor of the scene. Hamlet is not a comic character and he does not mispronounce any words. There is no reason, therefore, for assuming that he would have said *pajock* if he had been thinking of *patchock*. And Mr. Smith surely knows that a superficial resemblance between two words does not prove identity; *beseech* is not the same as *besiege*, *marge* is not identical with *march*, *purge* with *perch*, etc.

Fourthly, Mr. Smith silently takes it for granted that the early *paiocke* equals *pajock*. The NED (*q.v*) is by no means sure of the identity of the two words. As a matter of fact, there is no good reason for making the identification. *Paiocke* may have been pronounced *pay-jock* or *padge-ock*; if it was pronounced *pay-jock* or, more probably *pay-ock*, it bore only a very remote resemblance to *pathock* and would not have suggested *pathock* to a theatrical audience. That the letters *ai* frequently were sounded like *ay* is certain. (In the manuscript play of *Sir Thomas Moore* the word *Mayor* is invariably written *Maior*.) To take for granted, as Mr. Smith does, that the early *paiocke* is equivalent to Mr. Rowe's *pajock*, and therefore to a questionable *patchock*, is to be guilty of assuming what it is desired to prove—a very common error in logic.

Fifthly, Mr. Smith gives expression to the very far-fetched and, I may say, fantastic notion that 'to the Elizabethans the imported word [i.e., *patchock*], had the added connotation of *patches* and recalled the motley of Patch, Wolsey's domestic fool who became Henry's court jester. In other words, we are asked to believe that Shakspeare,

for no earthly reason, wrote *pajock* when he meant *patchock* and that he thought his audience would see an allusion to a 'mantled Irishman' in the syllable *patch* suggested by *padge*. There was no need for the introduction of an Irish word in the *Hamlet* passage, and if Shakspeare had wished to refer to Patch he would not have done it in the round-about and dubious manner suggested by Mr. Smith.

Mr. Smith's further comments on Irish mantles (*brats*) only becloud the issue and are so irrevelant that we may ignore them.

THE REALITY OF SHAKSPERE'S "SUPERS"

BY WILLIAM BRYAN GATES

Every reader of Shakspeare's plays can recall characters who are described but who never appear in the action. Even without the historical personages so treated, there are hundreds of such creatures, chiefly in the comedies and the comic parts of the history plays. Many of these wraiths have a distinct personality of their own, and some serve definite dramatic functions. Paraphrasing Falstaff's estimate of his own wit, they are not only realistic in themselves, but the cause that realism is in others. No other Elizabethan dramatist kept such a galaxy of supernumeraries or lavished such care on them or utilized them so skilfully to add the circumstantialness of real life to other personages or to situations.

For the further light they shed on Shakspeare's art and verisimilitude, therefore, a few of the most significant unseen fictional or pseudo-historical characters will be considered under three heads: those that aid in the characterization of an active participant; those that help to make a situation more vivid; and those that figure in the antecedent action or the plot. (From a somewhat different point of view, Professor Alwin Thaler has set forth interesting comments on two of Shakspeare's unseen characters—Rosaline and Mauldin.)¹

The stature of Sir John Falstaff is considerably heightened by the lifelikeness of some unseen characters near him—some "supers" who stood for Shakspeare's call. Like Chaucer's Friar, Falstaff apparently knew the taverns well, for besides haunting the Boar's-head Tavern, he alludes in a familiar manner to "my host at Saint Alban's" and "the red nose inn-keeper of Daventry."² According to Hostess Quickly, Master Smooth, a silk merchant living at the "Lubber's-head in Lumbert Street," has "indited" Falstaff to dinner,³ but another silk dealer, a certain Master Dommelton, has evidently had all of Falstaff's acquaintance he wants. "What said Master Dommelton [inquires Sir John] about the [twenty-two yards of]

satin for my short cloak and my slops?" This unseen dealer's acumen is clearly revealed by the Page's reply: "He said, sir, you should procure him better assurance than Bardolph. He would not take his band and yours. He lik'd not the security."⁴

Though "never yet a breaker of proverbs," for, as the Prince says, "he will give the devil his due," Falstaff is certainly a breaker of promises. "Go bear this letter . . . [he orders his Page] to old Mistress Ursula, whom I have weekly sworn to marry since I perceiv'd the first white hair of my chin."⁵ While Mistress Ursula vainly awaits a call from Sir John (and from the dramatist), "good wife Keech, the butcher's wife," likewise stands in the wings ready to rush in again "to borrow a mess of vinegar" and testify that Falstaff has also promised to marry Hostess Quickly and make her his lady.⁶

Allusions to a host of supernumeraries add humor and circumstantialness to the garrulous reminiscences of Falstaff's friend, Justice Shallow:

By the mass [swears Shallow] . . . I would have done anything. There was I and little John Doit of Staffordshire and black George Barnes and Francis Pickbone and Will Squele, a Cots'ol' man. You had not four such swinebucklers in all the Inns o' Court again. . . . We knew where the bona robas were and had the best of them all at our commandment.

Though Falstaff is probably correct when he declares Shallow's "every third word a lie," the Justice claims to have fought "one Sampson Stockfish, a fruiterer, behind Gray's Inn" on the same day that Falstaff broke Skogan's head "at the court gate." He laments the death of "old Double [who] drew a good bow; [and] shot a fine shoot," and he inquires solicitously about one of the bona robas, Jane Nightwork, mother of Robin Nightwork. For further humor of incongruity, this stupid justice's "cousin William," son to that incomparable ninny, Justice Silence, is said to be "a good scholar" at Oxford.⁷

Even the social consciousness of marriageable young ladies is emphasized by references to unseen characters.

Since Dumain and Longaville of *Love's Labor's Lost* have been seen in such illustrious company as that at the Duke Aiencon's and the marriage feast of Lord Perigort and "the beauteous heir of Jaques Falconbridge,"⁸ their ladies are satisfied as to their suitors' social standing. Likewise, Bassanio of *The Merchant of Venice* is proved an eligible suitor for Portia's hand by the fact that he first came to Belmont in the company of the distinguished Marquis of Montferrat.⁹

To enhance the prowess of young Orlando, who overcomes the duke's powerful wrestler as easily as he overcomes the fair Rosalind, Shakspeare paints a graphic picture of an unseen old man whose three sons have just been vanquished by the wrestler:

Yonder they lie; the poor old man, their father, making such a pitiful dole over them that all beholders take his part with weeping.¹⁰

The intelligence of Slender in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is made more evanescent by the fact that this young man is said to have paid the unseen Yead Miller two shillings two pence each for "two Edward shovel-boards,"¹¹ for though these large, smooth one-shilling pieces were in demand for playing shovel-board, more than double their face value would indicate that the unseen Yead had caught a cony. Perhaps Slender's lack of ardor in wooing fair Mistress Anne Page may have been due partly to one Alice Shortcake, who is hovering in the wings and to whom Slender lent his *Book of Riddles* "upon all-hallowmas last."¹²

Nobility, or the lack of it, is dramatically portrayed by means of unseen characters. The ignoble character of Bertram in *All's Well That Ends Well*, for example, is effectively set forth by the contrast between Bertram and his deceased father, fully characterized as a gentleman of wit but without contempt or bitterness, two qualities prominent in his son's character.¹³ Public confidence in the honor of Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*, after her husband has uttered scathing charges against her, is made graphic and concrete by Antigonus's oath that if Hermione proves false,

he will not let his three unseen little daughters ("eleven; . . . nine, and some five") live to bring forth "false generations."¹⁴ Aaron the Moor in *Titus Andronicus* is made more colossal in his villany by his determination to kill the unseen Cornelia, the midwife who assisted at the birth of the black infant born to Queen Tamora, and by his plan to bribe the unseen wife of his countryman Muli to exchange her white child for the black one.¹⁵

The garrulous Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet* is rounded out in her garrulosity by her allusions to her daughter Susan, who was "too good" for her and hence is now "with God" and those to her husband, a "merry man," who broke a coarse jest on the three-years old Juliet.¹⁶ The excessive generosity of Timon of Athens, who gave not wisely but too well, is emphasized by a scene in which Timon graciously endows his servant with a large sum of money merely so that this servant may become an acceptable suitor for the hand of an unseen Athenian lady who doubtless waited without.¹⁷ The haughty Coriolanus successfully begs freedom for an unseen man who has befriended him, but when asked his benefactor's name, he cries, "By Jupiter! Forgot, . . . My memory is tir'd."¹⁸

It is true that Coriolanus would be a haughty and arrogant personage without the touch about forgetting the name of his benefactor. Falstaff would be known as a haunter of taverns and a breaker of promises without the unseen red-nosed inn-keeper of Daventry or Mistress Ursula. Hermione would still be an honorable matron without Antigonus's threat to the three little girls hovering in the wings. Yet, Shakspeare's dramatic use of such unseen personages is one of the reasons why his active characters are so true to life that critics occasionally forget they are not flesh and blood creatures.

Unseen personages are frequently used also to make a situation more lifelike. In *Richard III*, for example, immediately after the Duke of Clarence has been executed at the order of the King, the Earl of Derby pleads for a pardon for an unseen man—one of his servants "who slew today a riotous gentleman Lately attendant on the Duke of Norfolk." The King himself, now contrite over the

execution of Clarence, comments on the bitter irony of being asked to pardon another man's servant for doing what he has just done to his own brother.¹⁹

Some of the most graphic portrayals of unseen characters used to make a situation more lifelike appear in the account which a porter gives of the crowd pressing up to the palace gate to see the christening of Princess Elizabeth in *Henry VIII*:

There is a fellow somewhat near the door [declares the assistant porter], he should be a brazier by his face, for, o' my conscience, twenty of the dog-days now reign in's nose; . . . that fire-drake did I hit three times on the head, and three times was his nose discharged against me. . . . There was a haberdasher's wife of small wit near him. that rail'd upon me till her pink'd porringer fell off her head. . . . I miss'd the meteor once, and hit that woman; who cried out "Clubs!" when I might see from far some forty truncheoners draw to her succour, which were the hope o' the Strand, where she was quartered. They fell on; I made good my place; at length they came to the broomstaff to me; I defid 'em still; when suddenly a file of boys behind 'em, loose shot, deliver'd such a shower of pebbles, that I was fain to draw mine honour in, and let 'em win the work.²⁰

In the comedies, even more than in the histories, are unseen characters used to vivify situations. Full of farcical humor and at the same time a skilful parody of the leave-taking between Proteus and Julia is the account which Launce in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* gives of his departure from his family:

My mother weeping, my father wailing, my sister crying, our maid howling, our cat wringing her hands.²¹

Likewise excellent for its parody of the excessive amount of lovemaking in the play is Launce's falling in love and giving a "catlog" of the unseen lady's "condition"—a creature having "more qualities than a water-spaniel."²² By the limitations of the plot of *The Two Gentlemen*, Julia can be shown with only one active suitor; yet it is unthinkable that the heroine of a romance should have only one admirer. The deficiency is remedied by leaving unseen Sir Eglamour, "well-spoken, neat, and fine," and Mercatio, of whose wealth Julia's maid thinks "well," but of himself only "so, so."²³

This device is employed with greater artistry and effectiveness in *The Merchant of Venice*, for, of course, the wealthy and beauteous Portia must have more suitors than the number actually shown on the stage; the two who make bad guesses, and the hero, who, naturally, guesses the correct casket. Five unseen suitors, graphically portrayed, testify to Portia's popularity. The Neapolitan Prince, says Portia, is "a colt, indeed, for he doth nothing but talk of his horse"; the County Palatine "doth nothing but frown." She will let Monsieur Le Bon "pass for a man" since "God made him." Though Baron Falconbridge and Portia have no common tongue for discourse, she cannot abide him anyway:

How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour everywhere.

The Scottish Lord, she declares

hath a neighborly charity in him, for he borrowed a box of the ear of the Englishman and swore he would pay him again when he was able.

She holds the Nephew of the Duke of Saxony

very vilely in the morning, when he is sober, and most vilely in the afternoon, when he is drunk. When he is best, he is little worse than a man, and when he is worst, he is little better than a beast.²⁴

The lively Touchstone of *As You Like It* pokes mild sport at the lovers of the play as he tells of his own love for a certain Jane Smile, no doubt left waiting at the church long ago, just as she is left waiting by Shakspeare:

I remember, when I was in love I broke my sword upon a stone, and bid him take that for coming a-night to Jane Smile; and I remember the kissing of her batler and the cow's dugs that her pretty chopt hands had milked. . . . We that are true lovers run into strange capers.²⁵

The most significant unseen characters in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* are the famous fat woman of Brainford, in whose tent-like gown Sir John Falstaff escapes the wrathful Ford,²⁶ and the Germans who make off with three horses belonging to the Host of the Garter Inn.²⁷ Whether the dramatist was using topical material and intended

these to be portraits from the life is beside the point. Much realism is added by the unseen witch of Brainford and those Germans who threw Bardolph off his horse and fled away "like three German devils, three Doctor Faustuses."²⁸

Measure for Measure has an unusually large number of unseen characters used to make more vivid the sordid conditions prevailing in the city. Besides Kate Keepdown, whom the despicable Lucio had promised to marry,²⁹ there is in jail a host of young-men-about-town, probably all better left unseen:

First [says Pompey], here's young Master Rash . . . in for a commodity of brown paper and old ginger, nine-score and seventeen pounds; . . . Then is there here one Master Caper, at the suit of Master Three-pile the mercer, for some four suits of peach-colour'd satin, . . . Then we have young Dizzy, and young Master Deep-vow, and Master Copper-spur, and Master Starve-lackey the rapier and dagger man, and young Drop-heir that killed lusty Pudding, and Master Forth-light the tilter, and brave Master Shooty the great traveller, and wild Half-can that stabb'd Pots, and, I think, forty more; all great doers in our trade.³⁰

Similar corruption is portrayed in *Pericles* by means of some unseen personages, very unsavory in themselves. "A poor Transylvanian" has just died of a disease caught in the brothel of Mytilene from a "little baggage . . . [who] quickly pop'd him . . . [and] made him roast-meat for worms."³¹ When Boulton the pander proclaims the beauty of Marina, the new acquisition, "a Spaniard's mouth . . . wat' red," and Monsieur Verrolus, "a French knight . . . offered to cut a caper at the proclamation."³²

Of the many allusions to the "paragon" and "rarest" creature, Claribel, daughter of King Alonso in *The Tempest*, the most significant serves to add vividness to Gonzalo's account of that miraculous shipwreck in which the courtiers' garments, though soaked in salt water, remain, says Gonzalo, "now as fresh as when we put them on first in Africa, at the marriage of the King's fair daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis."³³

In the tragedies the most significant use of unseen characters to add reality to a situation appears in *Othello* as Desdemona dwells with almost prophetic insight on her

mother and the maid Barbara just before she herself is smothered in her bed:

My mother had a maid call'd Barbara;
 She was in love, and he she lov'd prov'd mad
 And did forsake her. She had a song of "willow"; . . .
 And she died singing it. That song to-night
 Will not go from my mind. I have much to do
 But to go hang my head all at one side
 And sing it like poor Barbara.³⁴

Though none of the foregoing situations would be essentially changed without the unseen supernumeraries, the effect would be weakened without them. By lavishing his skill on such items of background as unseen personages, Shakspeare added another cubit to his stature as a dramatist.

Unseen characters are also used as a part of the plot. Among those so used in the history plays, by far the best is the non-historical character brought into *1 Henry IV* to demand the prisoners captured by Hotspur at Holmedon—prisoners the Percys did not want to give up because of King Henry's refusal to ransom Mortimer. The unseen fop described by Hotspur furnishes a dramatic, not merely a historical, reason for the refusal to give up the prisoners:

My liege, I did deny no prisoners.
 But I remember, when the fight was done,
 When I was dry with rage and éxtreme toil,
 Breathless and faint, leaning upon my sword,
 Came there a certain lord, neat, trimly dress'd,
 Fresh as a bridegroom; . . . perfumed like a milliner; . . .
 With many holiday and lady terms
 He question'd me; amongst the rest, demanded
 My prisoners in your Majesty's behalf.
 I then, all smarting with my wounds being cold,
 To be so pest'rd with a popinjay, . . .
 Answer'd negligently—I know not what
 He should, or he should not; for he made me mad
 To see him shine so brisk and smell so sweet
 And talk so like a waiting-gentlewoman.³⁵

With such a creature as this appearing on the battlefield, demanding the prisoners, the sympathy of the audience will, momentarily at least, be on the side of the rebels.

The comedies contain a large number of supernumeraries who make the antecedent action more graphic or have

a part in the actual plot. Aegeon's lengthy narrative at the opening of *The Comedy of Errors*, for example, could hardly be told without its allusions to such specific personages as the Duke of Syracuse; groups of fishermen; the mother of the Dromios; and Aegeon's "most renowned uncle," Duke Menaphon, who brought one Antipholus from Corinth to Ephesus.³⁶

At the beginning of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, it is dramatically necessary that Proteus should not accompany his friend Valentine to the emperor's court: he must first be shown in love with Julia. Later, however, it is essential that Proteus join his friend: He must prove false to both Julia and Valentine by attempting to win the love of Silvia. Two unseen characters help to motivate this delayed departure: the brother of Antonio, who has complained that his brother should not permit Proteus to remain idle at home; and Don Alphonso, whose convenient trip enables Antonio to send his son away in distinguished company.³⁷ More effective and significant use is made of an unseen character in the plot of *Love's Labor's Lost*. Since the pseudo-historical King of France is "decrepit, sick, and bed-ridden," his daughter visits the kingdom of Navarre to inquire about the surrender of Aquitaine.³⁸ Thus she and the ladies of her train are provided an opportunity to meet King Ferdinand and his noble friends. The death of the King of France, announced in the course of the play,³⁹ motivates the somewhat hasty departure of the Princess and her ladies, and it enables these ladies to postpone giving their answers to their respective suitors.⁴⁰

The "little changeling boy," the cause of the dispute between Titania and Oberon in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, is clearly an unseen plot character.⁴¹ The unseen aunt of Lysander, "a dowager of great revenue," just missed having a part in the plot since her house, seven leagues from Athens, was to have been the meeting place of Lysander and Hermia.⁴² The very mainspring of the plot of *The Merchant of Venice* is, of course, an unseen character: Portia's deceased father, "an ever virtuous man," who devised the lottery whereby his daughter's husband should be selected.⁴³ Also important in the plot is Bellario, "the

learned doctor" from whom Portia secured the legal advice that freed Antonio.⁴⁴

In *As You Like It*, Corin's unseen master, a fellow of "churlish disposition," is conveniently anxious to sell his property just as Rosalind and Celia reach the Forest of Arden, and thus they easily circumvent the housing shortage.⁴⁵ Another unseen plot character in this play is the old religious man by whom Duke Frederick "was converted. Both from his enterprise [of pursuing his brother] and from the world."⁴⁶ Necessary antecedent action motivating the mourning of Olivia in *Twelfth Night* is provided through allusions to the lady's father and brother.⁴⁷ The gulling of Malvolio proceeds the more effectively because he remembers that the unseen Lady of the Strachy "married the yeoman of the wardrobe."⁴⁸ An unseen personage is used for identification at the arrest of Antonio: "Orsino," says the arresting officer, "this is that Antonio . . . that did the *Tiger* board, When your young nephew Titus lost his leg."⁴⁹

By means of "prescriptions of rare and prov'd effect," left her by her father, Helena of *All's Well That Ends Well* heals the King of France and in recompense is allowed to choose the unwilling Bertram for her husband.⁵⁰ The unseen Austria's calling for help against the Siennese motivates Bertram's hasty departure from his despised bride.⁵¹ Maudlin, the unseen daughter of Lafeu, plays a part in the denouement of *All's Well*. When the ring which Bertram proposes to send Maudlin proves to be the one given by the King to Helena, Bertram is arrested on suspicion that he has murdered Helena.⁵²

The loss at sea of Mariana's brother, "Frederick, the great soldier," and her dowry with him, is an important plot element in *Measure for Measure*. "Pretending in her discoveries of dishonour," Angelo breaks his betrothal to Mariana⁵³ and thus makes possible the incident in which she takes Isabella's place when Isabella is supposed to purchase her brother's life from Angelo at the cost of her own honor.⁵⁴ The unseen Ragozine, that "most notorious pirate," dies of "a cruel fever" just in time for his head to

be sent to Angelo, and thus he saves the life of both Claudio and that rogue Barnardine,⁵⁵ literally too bad to be hanged.

Dionyza in *Pericles* promises to care for Marina as though the child were her own, but when Marina's popularity far surpasses that of her own daughter, the unseen Philoten, Dionyza bribes Leonine to do away with Marina.⁵⁶ Another unseen personage, however, the "great pirate Valdes," has a band of thieves who rescue Marina from Leonine⁵⁷ and thus preserve her for what seems destined to be "a fate worse than death." Sycorax, that notable witch alluded to so often in *The Tempest*, is one of Shakspeare's most fascinating unseen characters, but her dramatic function lies chiefly in the presentation of the antecedent action—in the fact that she gave birth to the monster Caliban and confined Ariel in a cloven pine.⁵⁸

Among unseen characters figuring in the plot of the tragedies undoubtedly Rosaline in *Romeo and Juliet* is the most significant. It is seeing his beloved's name on the guest list for the Capulet ball that causes Romeo to go (masked, of course) to this party, hoping to catch a glimpse of Rosaline.⁵⁹ Instead, he catches a glimpse of Juliet. Rosaline is thus the instrument of fate in bringing together the "pair of star-crossed lovers" and therefore an important plot element. Is she really an unseen character? Is she not to be found among the crowd so summarily dismissed as "Guests and Maskers"? The unseen "bare-foot brother" with whom Friar John is quarantined is also a plot figure since his delay was fatal to both hero and heroine.⁶⁰

The handkerchief plays such an important part in *Othello* that the unseen characters involved in its history may be considered as having a plot function. "That handker," Othello tells Desdemona,

Did an Egyptian to my mother give; . . .

She, dying, give it me

And bid me, when my fate would have me wiv'd,

To give it her. . . .

A sibyl, that had numb' red in the world

The sun to course two hundred compasses,

In her prophetic fury sew'd the work.⁶¹

In *Timon of Athens* an unseen friend of General Alcibiades kills a man for impugning his honor. The Senate rejects Alcibiades' plea for his friend,⁶² just as it has rejected Timon's pleas for mercy. As a result, Alcibiades, like Timon, turns in wrath against his native city and her citizens. The unseen character furnishes the sole motivation for this element of the plot.

If Shakspeare's active participants and dramatic situations are more vivid and lifelike than those of any other dramatist, a part of the credit should be given to his use of these beings who served him by only standing and waiting—waiting for a cue that never came. How many fictional characters thus awaited the dramatist's call, no one can ever know. The majority of the hundreds alluded to are, of course, mere shadows, like Lamb's dream children—"only what have been." Some, like Sycorax and Portia's suitors, are as real as many a character that struts across the stage, full of sound and fury. A few favored "supers" almost gain a place before the footlights: the fop who demanded Hotspur's prisoners, for example, or, better still, the fair Rosaline—seen, yet unseen.

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¹*Shakspeare's Silences* (Harvard University Press, 1929), pp. 35-36 and 57-59. In each category of the present study, representative unseen characters have been chosen from each of the three types of plays: histories, comedies, and tragedies. References are to *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, edited by Neilson and Hill (Boston, 1942).

²¹ *Hen. IV.*, IV, ii, 50-51.

³² *Hen. IV.*, II, i, 30-32.

⁴² *Hen. IV.*, I, ii, 32-38; 48-50.

⁵² *Hen. IV.*, I, ii, 266-271.

⁶² *Hen. IV.*, II, i, 92-112.

⁷² *Hen. IV.*, III, ii, 6-54; 211-224; 329-330.

⁸ *L. L. L.*, II, i, 40-43; 61.

⁹ *Mer. Ven.*, I, ii, 122-128.

¹⁰ *A. Y. L. L.*, I, ii, 129-140.

¹¹ *Merry Wives*, I, i, 158-160.

¹² *Merry Wives*, I, i, 210-212.

¹³ *All's Well*, I, ii, 24-48.

¹⁴ *Wint. Tale*, II, i, 144-148.

¹⁵ *Tit. And.*, IV, ii, 140-168.

¹⁶ *R. & J.*, I, iii, 19-48.

¹⁷ *Tim. of Ath.*, I, i, 116-151.

¹⁸ *Coriolanus*, I, ix, 79-90.

¹⁹ *Rich.* III, II, i, 95-134. Something of Shakspeare's art in creating these unseen personages can be seen in the way this character is developed from a mere generaliza-

tion in Holinshed: "When anie person sued to him [the king] for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he would accustomablie saie: 'Oh infortunate brother for whose life not one would make sute'." (Holinshed, III, 703. Quoted in the (English) Arden Edition of *Richard III*, p. 70, n. 126.)

- ²⁰*Hen. VIII*, V, iv, 40-61.
- ²¹*Two Gent.*, II, iii, 1-35.
- ²²*Two Gent.*, III, i, 261-376.
- ²³*Two Gent.*, I, ii, 10-13.
- ²⁴*Mer. Ven.*, I, ii, 39-107.
- ²⁵*A. Y. L. I.*, II, iv, 46-56.
- ²⁶*Merry Wives*, IV, ii, 77-89; 177-195.
- ²⁷*Merry Wives*, IV, iii, 1-4.
- ²⁸*Merry Wives*, IV, v, 65-74.
- ²⁹*Meas. Meas.*, III, ii, 210-215; V, i, 513-527.
- ³⁰*Meas. Meas.*, IV, iii, 1-21.
- ³¹*Pericles*, IV, ii, 23-26.
- ³²*Pericles*, IV, ii, 107-118.
- ³³*Tempest*, II, i, 58-98.
- ³⁴*Othello*, IV, iii, 26-33.
- ³⁵*Hen. IV*, I, iii, 29-69.
- ³⁶*Com. Er.*, I, i.
- ³⁷*Two Gent.*, I, iii, 1-43.
- ³⁸*L. L. L.*, I, i, 136-139.
- ³⁹*L. L. L.*, V, ii, 726-729.
- ⁴⁰*L. L. L.*, V, ii, 811-880.
- ⁴¹*Mids. Dream*, II, i, 119-137.
- ⁴²*Mds. Dream*, I, i, 156-163.
- ⁴³*Mer. Ven.*, I, ii, 30-36.
- ⁴⁴*Mer. Ven.*, IV, i, 105-170.
- ⁴⁵*A. Y. L. I.*, II, iv, 80-100.
- ⁴⁶*A. Y. L. I.*, V, iv, 160-171.
- ⁴⁷*Twelfth Night*, I, i, 24-32; I, ii, 36-41.
- ⁴⁸*Twelfth Night*, II, v, 44-45.
- ⁴⁹*Twelfth Night*, V, i, 64-66.
- ⁵⁰*All's Well*, I, i, 30-31; I, iii, 227-237; II, iii, 52-63.
- ⁵¹*All's Well*, I, ii, 1-4; II, iii, 290-308.
- ⁵²*All's Well*, V, iii, 67-127.
- ⁵³*Meas. Meas.*, III, i, 216-239.
- ⁵⁴*Meas. Meas.*, IV, i, 66.
- ⁵⁵*Meas. Meas.*, IV, iii, 71-82.
- ⁵⁶*Pericles*, IV, Gower, 11-53; IV, iii.
- ⁵⁷*Pericles*, IV, i, 97-98.
- ⁵⁸*Tempest*, I, ii, 257 ff, and passim.
- ⁵⁹*R. & J.*, I, ii, 67-106.
- ⁶⁰*R. & J.*, V, ii, 5-12.
- ⁶¹*Othello*, III iv, 55-75.
- ⁶²*Tim. of Ath.*, III, v.

HUSBANDS IN SHAKSPERE

BY SIBYL C. HOLBROOK

It would be an amusing experiment to line up a class in Psychology or Shakspeare and ask the members individually to write down the first example of a husband in any of the plays of Shakspeare that occurred to him or her when the term was mentioned. The romantic temperaments would light on Romeo, no doubt, though he was hardly more than the husband of an hour. The realists might bring up Mr. Ford or Mr. Page, those literal-minded foils to their Merrie Wives. To the historically-minded, one of the two more conspicuously uxorious monarchs would naturally occur—Richard III, or Henry VIII.

At first blush, a superficial reader might say that Shakspeare did not "feature" the married state, but rather took it for granted, spending his zeal and creative gifts on Midsummer madness, idylls of a forest, an island, or studies in crime. But a more thoughtful survey shows that the relation is a cardinal one, right through his work, from the farcical level where Petruchio plays the exaggerated tyrant as a means of subduing his high-spirited wife to double harness, up to the sublime devotion pictured by Hamlet of his father's love for Gertrude.

Immediately the two husbands come to mind who make the worst possible use of the divine favor of a woman's love, namely Othello and Leontes, in both cases through the agency of the same green-eyed monster. In *The Winter's Tale*, the jealousy is less motivated than in *Othello*, yet no less does the whole plot hinge on this evil passion: no jealousy, no play.

Perhaps the most canny formula for peace in the married state is that of Antigonus, a rather humble courtier of Sicily, husband of the tart Paulina:

"When she will take the rein, I let her run,
But she'll not stumble." (II.iii. 51,52)

It is possible that the errand he accepts from his royal master, to take the new-born infant of Hermione "to some

remote and desert place quite out of our dominions" actually presents a welcome alternative to more of his wife's dictatorship, though he declares that "a present death had been more merciful." His final exit, pursued by a bear, has always seemed like loaded dice on Fate's part, but was dramatically necessary to give the proper touch of savagery to the scene.

Leafing through the plays, one becomes aware of the number of trifling good-for-naughts Shakspeare had evidently observed among his bachelor friends: Romeo is a pest to his messmates; Bassanio runs into debt and cannot keep a promise; Orlando blames his brother Oliver for his own failure to amount to something; Claudio is ready to suspect the worst of his dainty bride; Bertram, Proteus, even Orsino are fickle and quite unworthy of the fine women who lose their hearts to them. Did their creator not have some indirect intent of showing that marriage stabilizes a chap?

Let us for convenience in analysis group the husbands under three heads: the romantic, the realistic, the historical.

We have already touched on Romeo: Ferdinand is a close second as ardent lover, but he shows qualities of proved devotion to his own family which augur rather better for his father's solicitude (I.i.140-145).

Hamlet, prince of Denmark, has no place in this gallery, but by implication he paints the supreme husband of all drama—the late King Hamlet who reached the top of admiration in his devotion to Gertrude: by comparison the usurping brother is not "twentieth part the tithe of your precedent lord" and the dead king.

"Hyperion to a satyr. So loving to my mother
That he might not beteem the winds of heaven
Visit her face too roughly."

Othello, to begin with, is a thoroughly romantic husband—indeed he stays in the realm of romance and fantasy to the end, and never sees his frail young wife as she is. The marriage, in my opinion, never could have turned out well: seeing Robeson recently in the title-rôle brought home to me in a flash his unfitness as mate to a city-belle. He has all the caressing epithets at his tongue's end:

"O my soul's joy!" he cries on landing at Cyprus where she awaits him (II.i.186)

"Honey, you shall be well desir'd in Cyprus."

After the fracas, in which Cassio is wounded past surgery in his reputation, Othello says "Look, if my gentle love be not raised up" and soothes her with "All's well now, sweetening; come away to bed." But there is no deep amalgamation of souls. After all, Desdemona is no heroine, though her last words are gallant enough. Emilia, discovering her dying, screams "O who hath done this?" and she murmurs "Nobody. I myself"—which is perhaps a characteristic escape from fact. She has an empty little mind, which Othello's tall travel-tales filled to the brim. She is understandably enough in love with him still to be reluctant to stay at home alone while he campaigns against the Turks. But would a woman whose mind and heart were completely full of her husband indulge in the flirtatious small-talk that Desdemona initiates while waiting on the wharf with Iago, as they "throw out eyes" for the victor's vessel. The time must be passed somehow; but this striking at once of the note personal seems to me a revelation of the essentially light vain nature of the woman.

"I am not merry," she begins, "but I do beguile
The thing I am by seeming otherwise.
Come, how wouldst thou praise me?" (II.1.123-125)

And she keeps on goading him to the impotent and lame conclusion that the finest type of woman is fit only to be a mother and housekeeper. Baulked of her compliment, she turns to Cassio to see what she can squeeze out of him before her lord appears.

Notable it is that immediately after this exhibition of her weakness comes Iago's prophecy to Roderigo that she will not long continue in love with her husband. He is a clever psychologist and this straw has served to show him which way the wind blows. "Her eye must be fed," and to "give a fresh appetite, there should be . . . sympathy in years, manners, and beauties, all which the Moor is defective in." The marriage was stitched together with fantastical lies, and it is beginning to sag apart.

Othello lacks the *savoir faire* which would enable him to look on coolly at another man's devotion before his particular shrine. Yet, rough and rude though he is, he puts commendable restraint on himself in the scene (III.iii) in which Desdemona tries to reconcile him with his disgraced lieutenant.

"Who is't you mean?" he asks to gain time. although he knows perfectly well.

"Went he hence now?" again a superfluous question, but in its brevity showing that he cannot meet his wife on her own ground of affectionate teasing. This, by the way, is her best scene; she is enchanting, but not too intelligent. Portia or Rosalind would have made short work of such unfounded suspicions; but then, neither Portia nor Rosalind would have taken Othello to her wedded husband.

Fed by circumstantial doses from Iago's hate-inspired imagination, the poison seeps through Othello's veins and maddens him. He is one of the men whom Oscar Wilde generalizes about, who "kill the thing they love," and so it was written in the stars of this ill-mated pair.

Far more unreasonable—and consequently less dramatic—is the jealousy that prompts Leontes to order his wife to prison. The curtain rises on a perfect picture of domestic accord: husband, his old childhood-friend as guest, Hermione, his beloved and trusted queen, mother of a quick-witted boy of twelve and soon to present him with a play-mate. She bandies arch words about persuading—at her husband's suggestion—their royal guest (for he is no less than King of Bohemia) to prolong his stay, and then has a pretty passage of fooling with her husband, who tells her she never spoke to better advantage except when she promised to be his forever. So far, so good. But presto! As Hermione innocently gives her hand to Polixenes to seal the bargain, Leontes flies into a furor of sensual, suspicious jealousy, unworthy a husband or a king of his standing.

"Too hot, too hot!

To mingle friendship far is mingling bloods . . .

I have tremor cordis on me."

Indeed his state of mind does plainly declare itself a physical infirmity. This "sticks more fiery off" against the background of Camillo's steadfastness in his Queen's defence. He is a long-trusted courtier and confidant, yet such is Leontes' obsession that he does not spare him reproach, insinuation, even abuse:

"We have been deceiv'd in thy integrity;" "thou art a coward . . . or else a fool." One may gather from this the sort of husband Leontes has been in the past: if not till now acutely jealous, still petty in his outlook, unreasonable in his conclusions, lacking faith and dignity. When at last Camillo hears the accusation he does not mince his words.

"I would not be a stander-by to hear
My sovereign mistress clouded so, without
My present vengeance taken. Shrew my heart!
You never spoke what did become you less."

But Leontes is past shame—utterly blinded by jealousy and even incited to thoughts of murder. He has given Camillo special charge of Polixenes' comfort at the Court. "How easy is it then." He suggests point-blank that the steward "bespice a cup" to speed the guest's departure from more than Sicily, and in return for Leontes' promise to restore Hermione to favor, Camillo bargains in crime. But he is no villain. He does not hesitate to double-cross the actual villain, and in a frank interview with the Bohemian prince, tells him of the plot and urges a speedy escape, which he will arrange and share.

So much for Leontes in Act I as sample of a husband. Let us see if grief and time work any material improvement in him. In Act V we find him bemoaning his lost wife:

"The sweet'st companion that e'er man
Bred his hopes out of."

He declares to courtiers who urge him to marry for the sake of an heir (the promising young Mamilius having died at the report of his mother's death in prison.)

"No more such wives, therefore no wife."

Yet, before the scene is over, he incurs a rebuke from Paulina for casting sheep's eyes at the lovely young Perdita.

"Sir, my liege, your eye hath too much youth in't." (V.1.225)

He has protested too much and too long: one feels that he is ripe for a new love-affair. Fortunately the former one is at hand in a novel and romantic guise. When he recognizes in the statue his wife Hermione miraculously restored to him, he is again extravagant even to paradox.

"No settled senses of the world can match
The pleasure of that madness." (ibid. 72-73)

And when Paulina tells him that she has more in store, he asserts that

"This affliction has a taste as sweet
As any cordial comfort." (ibid. 76-77)

But the slightness of his nature is shown by his almost perfunctory amends when all is said and done:

" Both your pardons
That e'er I put between your holy looks
My ill suspicion." (ibid. 148-149)

No, we cannot hoist Leontes to any pedestal. He stands pretty low on the list of Shakspeare's husbands. Though his crime falls short of Othello's, so does his suffering. Reasons are quite evident, on a little study, for *The Winter's Tale* never having achieved any great popularity, in spite of its scenic possibilities and two delightful heroines.

We turn to another royal lover—Macbeth. The masterly economy of this play is seen by the comparatively few touches which convincingly show a rare attachment.

Macbeth proves, on close study, one of the tenderest of husbands. More than this, his wife is the very motive-centre of his being. When he has won his first notable success in the field against the Norwegians allied with the Irish, and been hailed as future king by the Weird Sisters, he cannot wait till the journey home is over, but sends a messenger ahead with a letter to his wife. He may have doubts of himself, but never of his "dearest love." Note that he gives her that greeting with his first breath on entrance; the news that "Duncan comes here tonight," with the second. (I.v.159).

Between the two, we see him fold her in his arms. She is

so close, so completely a part of him that she does not need to be told what is on his mind. Only his lack of confidence finds no echo in her. When he wavers, her scorn flays him.

"Was the hope drunk
Wherein you dress'd yourself?" (I.vii.35)

And when he protests that he dares do all that may become a man, she lashes out with

". . . What beast was't then
That made you break this enterprise to me?" (ibid.57)

He had apparently broached it to her in an unacted interview prior to the opening of the play.

Still, neither this contempt nor the callousness with which she dismisses the consequences of murder—"A little water clears us of this deed. . . (II.ii. 67)—seems to nibble at his firm-set attachment. In the short scene before Banquo's taking off (III.ii) Macbeth's endearments are spontaneous: "So shall I, love," and "Be innocent of the knowledge, dearest chuck." Thus far, they are the young high-spirited pair who chose each other because of matching tempers and ardent desires.

The gradual working of the shared criminal secrets on their minds and characters is the true tragedy of *Macbeth*. Lady Macbeth's access of fierceness was really so foreign to her nature as to upset her reason. Her husband, steeped in gore, with his back to the wall, has only perfunctory thoughts and words for her, now that she has left the center of his life.

"How does your patient, Doctor?" (V.111.37)
. . . Cure her of that! (ibid. 39)

Brusquely he turns to his own case, listing the written troubles of the brain, the stuff'd bosom, and other names for a guilty conscience; then scornfully asks

"What rhubarb, senna or what purgative drug
Would scour these English hence?" (ibid. 52-53)

When the half-expected outcry comes, with the news, "The Queen, my Lord, is dead" (V.v.16) the lover of her youth, her manly counterpart in early growth and ambition, the tyrant who has craved power largely for her sake, has

only the bitterest epitaph of all known language to bestow on her poor life—"signifying nothing." After that the triumph of Macduff can hurt him little.

One of Shakspeare's earliest productions was the *Comedy of Errors*, an adaptation of a Greek farce. Yet we shall find that same jealousy, which was a motive of high tragedy, is not confined to the romances, but often is the outward and visible sign of a thoroughly pedestrian emotion. Take *Antipholus of Ephesus*, for example. He has apparently been on the whole a satisfactory husband, in spite of minor lapses, since *Adriana* is piqued when he is late for dinner. He cares enough for her good graces to order a gold chain made by a goldsmith though, to be sure, when she flouts him, it does not take him long to think up another likely wearer. But his wife remains possessive, and we conclude that *Antipholus* had a way with him. Even after he has threatened to scratch out her eyes for supposed insults, she insists on having him brought home (to be cured of alleged mania) rather than to a jail. He uses diversely an iron crowbar, a rope's end, his fists to cuff the conjurer, and breaks loose from the constable—not all in the cause of Love according to the Troubadours, but smarting from denial of his marital rights.

Classic times were not so different from Elizabethan (then modern) times. Writing of *Windsor*, Shakspeare invents the realistic husband *Master Ford*, who has, for all his realism, an imagination that torments him. Being told by *Pistol*, *Falstaff's* discharged man, that the *Fat Knight* is laying siege to his wife's virtue, he does not at first grasp the mercenary motive of the suit.

"Why, my wife is not young!" is his first shocked reflection (II.i.115). Still, he considers further, he would be loath to turn them together. A man may be too confident (II.i.193). But his indecision does not last long; he contrives a plot to test his wife. Getting an interview with *Falstaff*, he lays before him what the Knight quite truly dubs "a preposterous suggestion:" that he shall start dislodging the strong edifice of *Mistress Ford's* resistance, so that, when it begins to slide, he (in his alias of *Brook*) shall receive and profit by it. The ruse succeeds for the moment,

far enough for Falstaff to brag of his appointment with the lady for next morning, thus warning Ford as to time and place.

"A little knowledge is a dangerous thing," and Ford goes away in no enviable frame of mind:

"Who says this is improvident jealousy? My wife hath sent to him, the hour is fix'd, the match is made. See the hell of having a false woman." (II.ii.300-302).

At the appointed time for the rendezvous, Ford goes to his house, well-fortified with neighbors, but fails to discover the culprit, who is bundled out, almost under his eyes, in a basket of foul linen. A second time, he gets wind of an appointed meeting and this time explores the laundry-basket himself, but without finding a trace of the Fat Knight. Mistress Page disguises him as an old witch-woman, and leads him out of the house. Then their pique is satisfied, and they confess to Ford their real intent, which was to discomfit the smug suitor who presumed to think he could snare two birds with one trap. Ford declares that his faith in his wife is henceforth firm and asks her pardon for the momentary doubt.

But sentimental considerations are not all with this realistic husband: at Falstaff's final roasting on the hill at midnight, he does not fail to remind him of the money lent him by one Master Brook, which will be "a biting affliction" to repay. A still deeper tinge of realism might make him see that same money as melted as spring snow, for it does not lie in Falstaff's nature to repay anything.

Petruchio, Tamer of the Shrew, is surely the frankest and the rankest realist of all the husbands. He announces on his first appearance, that he has come "to wive it, wealthily in Padua," which he considers synonymous with "happily in Padua (I.2.73). Hearing of the shrew Katherine, eldest daughter to the affluent Baptista, he makes straight toward the match. He has heard the roar of desert lions, ocean storms and enemy's cannon, and is not likely to be halted by threats of a woman's tongue.

"That gives not half so great a blow to th' ear
As will a chestnut in a farmer's fire." (ibid. 209-210)

Before he even meets the girl, he comes to plain terms with her father:

"Then tell me, if I get your daughter's love
What dowry shall I have with her to wife?" (II.1.120-121)

When he does meet her, this naked realism decks itself in all sorts of extravagances, but his real intent is no whit disguised. He intends to win her by implied flattery, to master her by sheer force of will, and to cure her bad habit of "curstness" by making her love as well as fear him. After some fencing with wits, she gives it up as futile, and he comes out with the plain statement:

"I am he am born to tame you, Kate." (II.1.278)

How he goes about the taming is familiar farce, but perhaps the psychology of his "line" has not been overstressed. He determines, first of all, that she shall be stingingly aware of him. He will be conspicuous by his absence at the appointed time and place for the marriage-ceremony. When he comes, it will be so turned-out that he cannot be overlooked. Then he breaks with custom further, by insisting on their departure before even drinking the host Baptista's health, though Katherine does her utmost to make him stay. He puts into his final defiance of her kinsmen just the touch of possession and protection that would appeal to her, however superfluous, for of course she is in no actual danger.

"Now for my bonny Kate, she must with me, . . .
I will be master of what is mine own.
Fear not, sweet wench; they shall not touch thee, Kate.
I'll buckler thee against a million."

Through the divers measures that Petruchio takes, we should look in vain for anything but realism. He will starve her of food, of sleep, tantalize her with offers of gifts withdrawn before she can grasp them, impress on her that she cannot tell time, and, in sum, teach her to rely on him for all essentials. The method seems to work, if the transformation in the last scene is to be taken at face-value. Not all actresses so interpret it: Lynn Fontane was obviously sneering and ironical, but this grated on the listener, and reduced the story to naught. Ada Rehan, in the

Nineties, was far more convincing. May I submit my suspicion that much history lies between the Acts. Petruchio, who unquestionably is a rare charmer, may have got in some very deadly work in their intervals of quarrelling, when he laid aside the tamer for the lover. The warmth and sheer masculinity of him must have fascinated Katherine, who had never known a real *man*, only sycophants to her father and wishy-washy gallants paying court to her sister. She is big enough herself to respond to his robustness, woman enough to be drawn by his magnetic virility into admiring, and then adoring her master—even as he foretold she would do.

In the most passionately romantic of all the dramas—*Romeo and Juliet*—is the last place we should look, off-hand, for a realistic husband. Yet such is Shakspeare's un-failing sense of balance and contrast that he brings into the almost unbearable tragedy of the Verona household more than a note—almost a sub-theme—of the practical and mundane, which serves to relieve the gloom, yet by its very homeliness to make it more intimate and heartfelt.

Capulet, Juliet's father, is an immortal type. We find him in Dickens, and down to Clarence Day. Indeed we can easily picture the poor girl's "Life With Father" had been difficult enough to make her ready for elopement with a less eligible or persuasive lover than Romeo. Capulet is the under-educated, over-blooded, man of good family, who has never himself done anything to brag of, yet is ready to find fault at short notice with those near and beneath him. To those outside the immediate circle he has a fussy sort of geniality that stimulates his own sense of importance. He fancies himself especially as host at a *soirée*. He enjoys hinting at his own gay youth as he urges guests to dance. So high are his spirits that he does not resent the intrusion of young Romeo, his feudal enemy's son, when Tybalt recognizes him under his mask, and growls that he will kill him.

TYB. "I'll not endure him.

CAP. He shall be endur'd.

What, Goodman boy? I say he shall. Go to!

Am I the master here or you? Go to!" (I.v.78-80)

His zest for his own authority also prompts him in the matter of disposing of his daughter's hand—and it is this advanced timing that brings the fatal result. Paris has asked on this very first evening, permission to pay his suit to Juliet, but was on that occasion put off by her father who declared she was too young. Then intervenes the unfortunate street-brawl that robs both houses of a brilliant scion. Mercutio, of the Montagues, is mortally pricked by Tybalt, and Tybalt's life is taken by Romeo, to avenge his merry kinsman. Capulet now tries to be Destiny. He believes that public attention will be wholesomely diverted by a joyful event, and so decides, pronto, to wed his daughter to Paris, with feasting and gayety, and that no later than three days off.

He flies into a rage and can hardly keep his hands off her when the poor girl tearfully protests the prospect of so speedy a marriage. "My fingers itch," he says (III.5.65) and later, chafed by the remonstrances of his wife and the Nurse, his anger is so hot as almost to melt his reason. He threatens his one beloved child that if she does not obey him he will turn her out to

"Graze where you will, you shall not house with me. (ibid. 190)
... hang, beg, starve, die in the streets." (ibid. 194)

Violent as they are, these dreadful words are quite in character and are necessary to make Juliet's predicament the more desperate.

When she returns from a visit to her Confessor, declaring she has "repented the sin of disobedient opposition" (IV.2.18) Capulet's rage is abated, but his energy is still at boiling-point. To his wife's fretting lest the time is too short for proper provision, he replies by taking everything upon himself.

"I'll not to bed to-night, let me alone.
I'll play the housewife for this once." (ibid. 42-43)

First, as all the servants are scattered, he must go in person to notify the bridegroom that the wedding-day is advanced; then, at three in the morning, we find him urging on the cook, calling for drier logs, watching the sky for signs of dawn, at which time Paris is expected with his aubade.

Then when the Nurse suddenly bursts in with the news that she cannot waken her lady, Capulet is completely deflated.

"Death is my heir;
My daughter he hath wedded. I will die
And leave him all. Alack, my child is dead
And with my child my joys are buried." (IV.5.63-64)

Yet the ruling passion asserts itself: he *must* give orders:

"All things that we ordain'd festival
Turn from their office to black funeral—
Our instruments to melancholy bells,
Our solemn hymns to sullen dirges change,
Our bridal flowers serve for a buried corse." (ibid. 2.84-88)

He does not die of course, but lives to get even with Montague, who in grief and reconciliation offers to erect a golden statue in memory of Juliet.

"As rich shall Romeo by his lady lie" (V.iii;301) insists his rival. From these few scenes, we can adequately deduce the sort of life that Lady Capulet led with the petty tyrant who charmed her youth—one of the most consistent, living portraits in this gallery of Shakspeare's husbands.

Among the husbands who are historical figures, we might expect to find more realists than romantics, but as we explore, the lists draw themselves up with surprising impartiality.

In *Coriolanus*, we find a pure romantic, the true son of his mother. His deep reverence for this Roman lady, Volumnia, and his affection for his wife, are indisputable, yet both are subject to his profound egotism. Out of pique that Rome has not duly honored him, he goes over to her enemies; then vanity and sense of importance to his women-folk cause him to weaken; he compounds with his native state, is sent against the Volscians and put to death by them as a traitor. His single love-speech is as touching as any utterance of its kind in all the plays:

"Best of my flesh
Forgive my tyranny . . . O a kiss
Long as my exile, sweet as my revenge!

Now by the jealous queen of heaven, that kiss
I carried from thee, dear, and my true lip
Hath virgin'd it e'er since." (V.iii.32-45)

Julius Caesar is on the realist side: Calphurnia's dreams and consequent fears and protests awake small tenderness in her husband; but when she kneels to him making the practical suggestion that a message be sent through Mark Anthony to the Senate, excusing him, he gives in. For a moment only: unguardedly he lets drop to Decius Brutus, one of the conspirators who calls for him, the reason for his absence, and the latter makes mince-meat of it in twenty lines. Such is the only picture we have of Caesar as husband, and it is not a highly flattering one.

Calphurnia is not the only restless wife on this portentous night in Rome. Portia, Cato's daughter and wife to Brutus, has been roused by the sound of voices, hushed steps, has seen masked faces below in the street, and she scents a nameless evil in the wind. She seeks out her husband as soon as he is alone, and taxes him with keeping dark secrets from her. She too betakes herself to her knees—a remnant of Oriental custom, plausible enough and sure to be effective on the stage. In this case, however, it does not prevail, though it elicits from Brutus one of the most exquisite declarations of seasoned love in all poetry:

"You are my true and honorable wife,
As dear to me as are the ruddy drops
That visit my sad heart." (II.ii.288-291)

He might have yielded to a little more of her inspired pleading, but another conspirator knocks and the spell is broken. He puts her off with "By and by"—but that time never comes. Is he a romantic or a realist?

Turning to the English historical plays, there is a bewildering variety. In *King John*, nothing to our purpose. In *Richard II*, toward the last, in the short scene of the parting of the King and Queen, we get a whiff of the fragrance of early love. Although Richard's decision to send his wife home to France remains firm, he cannot speak to her without using terms of endearment every few lines:

"Join not with grief, fair woman . . .
 Learn, good soul,
 To think our former state a happy dream.
 . . . I am sworn brother. sweet, to grim Necessity." (V.i.10 et seq.)

And finally, "One kiss shall stop our mouths and humbly part." (ibid. 95) In this miniature mirror, Richard's appealing charm and his fatal weakness are both clearly reflected.

The husband that comes instantly to mind, in turning to *King Henry IV*, Part I, is of course Harry Hotspur, whose wife, like Portia, is alarmed by the change in her husband's habits which proves some mighty business is afoot, and this she is bent on sharing. Lady Percy's complaint is the same as Portia's:

"For what offence have I this fortnight been
 A banish'd woman from my Harry's bed?" (II.iii.42)

and her reception no less baffling.

"I must not henceforth have you question me
 Whither I go, nor reason thereabout . . .
 Whither I must, I must: and, to conclude,
 This evening must I leave you, gentle Kate.
 I know you wise; but yet no farther wise
 Than Harry Percy's wife; constant you are,
 But yet a woman; and for secrecy,
 No lady closer, for I well believe
 Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know." (ibid. 06-114)

These two do not exchange fond names, but such as "mad-headed ape" and "you paraquito," as well as "my love," "my lady," and "gentle Kate," testify to the intimacy and warmth of their relations. Again, a short scene, but an intense one.

King Henry Fifth's wooing of his French princess Katherine is one of the most enchanting scenes in Shakspeare, but he cannot yet qualify as a husband.

The interest in *King Henry VI* is chiefly political, but there is a notable pair in Part II—Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and his Duchess. Their first colloquy is a striking foretaste of the *Macbeth* motif. Dame Eleanor rebukes her husband for "drooping, knitting his brows," yet remaining passive.

"Put forth thy hand, reach at the glorious gold" (of the crown) she advises him (I.ii.11).

"What, is't too short?
I'll lengthen it with mine."

He patiently answers her with the spontaneously affectionate manner that we have by now come to observe as a genuine pattern for Shaksperian husbands:

"O Nell, sweet Nell, if thou dost love thy lord,
Banish the canker of ambitious thoughts." (Ibid.;7)

Yet for all these and other honeyed words, he will not share in her disgrace. When she has been caught listening to soothsayers, and plotting against the Crown, he declares:

"Noble she is, but if she have forgot
Honour and virtue and conversed with such
As, like to pitch, defile nobility . . .
I banish her my bed and company,
And give her as a prey to law and shame
That hath dishonour'd noble Gloucester's name."

This places the noble Gloucester about at the bottom of the scale, as far as "what becomes a man" goes—let alone a husband and a Duke. No doubt the scene is historical, not the dramatist's invention, in which Gloucester looks on as his wife passes in procession, bearing placards describing her crime. She bitterly upbraids him, probably in words supplied by the poet:

For whilst I think I am thy married wife
And thou a prince, Protector of this land,
Methinks I should not thus be led along . . .
And follow'd with a rabble that rejoice
To see my tears and hear my deep-felt groans." (II.iv. 28-et seq.)

The fate of this pair could have originated the saying, if it were not already embalmed in Holy Writ, that "Pride goeth before a fall."

It remains for certain royal husbands to play Bluebeard. Richard III, though a very devil at wooing, had little staying-power as a husband, and is thought to have eased Queen Anne to her death—poor Anne, daughter of Warwick, and widow of Henry VI, slain by Richard in the Tower, yet

who cannot resist his fatal magnetism when he plays on her feelings over her husband's bier.

King Henry the Eighth, though husband to six women, is celebrated in his daughter's birthday-play (for as such, we are strongly bent to believe, this piece was produced) only down to the triumph of the second of these—Anne Boleyn, mother of Queen Elizabeth. The royal playmate is obviously smitten by a new arrival at the banquet in York Place:

"The fairest hand I ever touch'd. O beauty,
Till now I never knew thee." (I.iv.5-6)

After inquiring her name he yet addresses her as "sweet-heart," saying

"It were unmannerly to take you out
And not to kiss you." (ibid.94-96)

Nevertheless he reserves for his first queen (and presumably sweetheart) Katherine of Arragon, his highest tributes of devotion. He is the type of husband whose words outspoke his acts. No later than in Scene two of Act I do we read: "Enter the Queen," ushered by two dukes; she kneels: The King riseth from his state, takes her up, places her beside him, answering her protest with:

"Arise and take place by us. Half your suit
Never name to me; you have half our power.
The other moiety, ere you ask, is given.
Repeat your wills and take it." (I.2.10-13)

But fine words butter no parsnips. When she has imparted what is on her mind, namely the excessive new taxes, "commissions," to carry on the war with France, he does not mince his words in contradiction.

"By my lite, this is against our pleasure." (ibid. 67)

he says, and of course does not deviate by a hair's breadth from his design, for all her eloquent pleas. His supreme tribute is in the court-scene, in Blackfriars, but it is made, after all, to her retreating presence; she has shaken the dust of the mock trial off her shoes, and withdrawn, proposing to be judged only by the Pope.

"Go thy ways, Kate:
That man i' th' world who shall report he has
A better wife, let him in naught be trusted
For speaking false in this. Thou art alone
If they rare qualities, sweet gentleness,
Thy meekness saintlike, wife-like government,
Obeying in commanding, and thy parts
Sovereign and pious else could speak thee out)
The queen of earthly queens."

So our pursuit of husbands to observe and study has taken us into royal chambers and village attics, to eastern Ephesus and northern Scotland, to Rome and Denmark, to pagan times, in classic lands, in barbaric Britain, and in highly devout Renaissance Verona. Is not the original contention borne out that the married state was found by our dramatist to be one of the most fertile and varied in emotional possibilities?

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1945)

Compiled by

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

and

DOROTHY R. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books in the N. Y. Public Library and in the library of Columbia University, is a continuation of those published in the January issues of this Bulletin for some years past. Only those items have been listed which we thought contributed a new idea or a new fact. The names of female writers, if known, are distinguished by a colon after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year of publication is mentioned in connection with an item, 1945 is to be understood. The discussion of a book, as opposed to an edition, is indicated by printing the title within single quotes and omitting 'ed' after the contributor's name. The following abbreviations have been employed:

Amer	—American	M	—Magazine
Archiv	—Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen	MLN	—Modern Language Notes
B	—Bulletin	MLQ	—Modern Language Quarterly
Bei	—Beiblatt zur Anglia	MLR	—Modern Language Review
bib	—bibliography	MP	—Modern Philology
Bll	—Blätter	NQ	—Notes & Queries
Bn	—Boston	NSN	—New Statesman & Nation
CE	—College English	OUP	—Oxford University Press
comps	—compilers	Oxf	—Oxford
CUP	—Cambridge University Press	P	—Press
d	—der, die, das, dem, &c.	PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n of America
DNS	—Die neueren Sprachen	port(s)	—portrait(s)
dt	—deutsch, &c.	p.p.	—privately printed
ed(d)	—editor(s)	PQ	—Philological Quarterly
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History	Pr	—Proceedings
Elizn	—Elizabethan	Q	—Quarterly
Engl	—English, englische, &c.	R	—Review, Revue
ES	—Englische Studien	Repr	—Reprinted, reprints
fr	—from	RES	—Review of English Studies
GR	—Germanic Review	SAB	—Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
Hist	—History, Historie, Histoire	Sh	—Shakespeare, Shakspeare, &c
HLQ	—Huntington Library Quarterly	Shn	—Shaksperian
HUP	—Harvard University Press	SP	—Studies in Philology
il(s)	—illustration(s)	TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly
J	—Journal	TLS	—Times Literary Supplement
JEGP	—Journal of English & Germanic Philology	trn	—translation
JHI	—Journal of the History of Ideas	u	—und
Lang	—Language	U	—University
Libr	—Library	UP	—University Press
Lit	—Literature		
Ln	—London		

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MIDDLETON: AN ALLUSION TO THE SHAKSPERE FIRST FOLIO?

BY G. P. V. AKRIGG

Printed in most editions of *The Duchess of Malfi* are the commendatory verses written by Thomas Middleton, "In the just Worth, of that well Deserver, Mr. John Webster, and Upon this Maister-peece of Tragoedy."

The opening lines read :

In this Thou imitat'st one Rich, and Wise,
That sees His Good Deedes done before he dies;
As He by Workes, Thou by this Worke of Fame,
Hast well provided for thy Living Name;
To trust to others Honorings, is Worth's Crime,
Thy Monument is rais'd in thy Life Time; . . .

In paraphrase, Middleton says something like this:

You, John Webster, are like a wise man of wealth who makes sure of his posthumous reputation by performing his charities personally during his lifetime, instead of trusting to his executors to attend to them after his death. By personally attending to the publicaion of *The Duchess of Malfi*, you are assuring literary immortality for yourself. It is a crime for men of ability to trust that others will attend to their honour by undertaking such enterprises for them after they have died. You do not wait until after death for the publishing of the book which is to be your monument.

It is fitting, however conventional, that such emphasis upon properly assuring fame after death should be put into these verses addressed to Webster, whose mind was so fascinated by the paradoxes of man and mortality. Has this emphasis, however, no more immediate relevance? Such a revelance, though hitherto apparently unnoted, is, I believe, suggested when we recall that *The Duchess of Malfi* was published in 1623, the year in which Condell and Hemming published the Shakspere First Folio, regretting his "not having the fate, common to some, to be executor to his owne writings."

Certain facts deserve consideration. Both Middleton and Webster could hardly have escaped knowing Shakspeare personally; both borrowed from his work. *The Dec. 16th, 1614.* Set in the list of the original actors is the *Duchess of Malfi* itself has interesting Shaksperian associations. It was produced at the Globe by the King's men, the date of its original performance being previous to

name of Henry Condell, subsequently one of the folio editors.

We have no record of just when, in 1623, *The Duchess of Malfi* was published, but the point is hardly material. The First Folio was registered with the Stationers' Company on November 8th, but work on assembling and editing the text must have been going on for months previously—according to Willoughby probably since 1621.

Seen against this background, Middleton's verses may be allowed to acquire some special significance. What is more likely than that Middleton, sitting down to write a few lines for his friend Webster now presenting the world, at last, with "the perfect and exact Coppy" of his great play, should find himself thinking of the difficulty of getting an unmutilated text for Shakspeare? The contrast between the two publications impresses Middleton and he proceeds to felicitate his friend upon his foresight. "Thy Monument is rais'd in thy Life Time."

It is, of course, pure conjecture, but having once read Middleton's lines as containing reference to the Folio, one may take them as also having been written with knowledge of Webster's own motive for publication. Proudly insistent that his plays were "poems" not lightly to be dismissed, Webster may well have taken to heart the lessons implicit in the spectacle of the First Folio's inception, and decided to set about the personally supervised publication of unprinted works of his own. Such a decision would explain why Webster should, in 1623, publish both *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Devils Law-Case*, after a ten years period during which, to our knowledge, he had committed nothing to print.

If we take Middleton's verses as containing regret for what Shakspeare had lost by not personally publishing his complete works ("To trust to others Honorings, is Worth's Crime"), we have in these lines, apart from Jonson's famous poem, the only record of the response made by a contemporary dramatist to the publication of the First Folio.

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ALEXANDER C. JUDSON'S *LIFE OF SPENSER*
BY LOUIS S. FRIEDLAND

The measure of a new book can often be taken by comparison with an old one on the same subject. The handsomely printed volume before us, corresponding in format with its mates in the excellent Spenser Variorum Edition (Johns Hopkins University Press), recalls the biography published sixty-six years ago by R. W. Church, one time Dean of St. Paul's, exactly three centuries after the first appearance of the *Shepherd's Calendar*. What progress, then, in Spenser biography, and what fresh approaches and methods of study does the new *Life* reveal?

Church's slender volume consists of six chapters: Spenser's Early Life, The New Poet, Spenser in Ireland, The First Part of the *Faerie Queene*, The *Faerie Queene*, and Spenser's Last Years. Writing before the era of painstaking research in archives, parish and church registers, and state-papers, ushered in by Grosart and continued in our time by Weply, Hamer, Heffner, Dr. Judson, and others, Dean Church contented himself with the broad outline of Spenser's story. He had scant data at his disposal and so fell back on the poet's works, from which he sought to derive and present a portrait-sketch of an artistic and creative personality.

Dr. Judson's task is somewhat different in nature. Confronted with the accretion of six decades of research, opinion, and speculation, he needed to weigh the evidence, judge the worth of conflicting views, and scrutinize the theories. Very wisely Dr. Judson aims at exactitude; he prefers to set down the ascertained facts, however few, rather than pad his pages with an imposing and "learned" array of more or less ingenious suppositions. He refuses, for example, to record the idle and sometimes preposterous "recognitions" of contemporary figures disguised as Clarion, Muscaroll, and Aragnoll in *Muioptomos* or as Husbandman, the Oak, and the Brier in the February Eclogue, or as sundry animals in *Mother Hubbard's Tale* (except to affirm that "Reynold is easily identified with Burghley." Page 69). Nevertheless, human like the rest of us, he can-

not refrain now and then, but not often, from expressing a predilection as between two equally unsure alternatives. His account of Spenser's boyhood in London, of the youthful sports as retailed in the December Eclogue is fanciful and speculative; the passage is admittedly translated from Marot's *Eglogue au Roy* and can hardly be considered as imbued with the spirit of Spenser's own early days. We need to go to other sources for a truer picture of children's life in the London of the 1560's; generalizations drawn from these would, it seems to me, be more cogent than the conventional and borrowed games and activities described in the last Eclogue.

What is the net gain derived from the many years of research in Spenser biography? Surprisingly little for the period covered by Church's first two chapters. Like his predecessor, Dr. Judson opens his biography with a discussion of Spenser's presumed kinship with the Spencers of Althorp. The account of this Northern family is far more detailed than Church's brief allusion to the three Spencer sisters upon whom the poet conferred honor and fame, and whose marital alliances are here enumerated in full. (According to all the authorities, including the writer of the notice on Thomas Egerton, Viscount Brackley and Lord Ellesmere, in the *DNB*, Alice Spencer was his *third* wife, and not the second as Dr. Judson erroneously states, page 6). It may now be considered beyond peradventure that *Amyntas* of *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* was her first husband, Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange and, later, the Earl of Derby.

For the rest, not only do most of the old uncertainties remain but to them a few new ones are added, since it is the province of scholarly research to discredit unfounded data as well as to discover fresh facts. Thus, East Smithfield can no longer be fixed with assurance as the vicinage of Spenser's birth, a real loss of the sentimental sort. The identity of "Rosalind" is still a riddle unsolved; the light thrown on Spenser's relations with Sidney and Leicester gives little fresh illumination, and Dr. Judson rejects out of hand the possibility that Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton, who may have been connected with the Spencers of

Althorp, was the poet's earliest patron and, as such, not likely to require the good offices of Sidney or Leicester in the acquisition of a secretary for duty in Ireland. Nothing is said about the little group of poets and scholars, including Gascoigne and Turbervile who enjoyed the patronage of Grey, nor is Gascoigne, to whose major poems Spenser owed a greater indebtedness than is generally admitted, accorded a single mention in Judson's *Life*. Of Spenser's relations with Bishop Young of Rochester, to our knowledge of which Dr. Judson has himself contributed so much, the account is held to the proven facts. Our biographer accepts without question the not unlikely identification of "Diggon Davie" (in the *Calender*) with Richard Davies, the Welsh Bishop of St. David's. Of the other "prelates" in the ecclesiastical Eclogues not much is revealed. On page 52 the sequestration of Archbishop Grindal (Algrind) is said to have been due to his failure to forbid the practice of "prophesying," but the "prophesyings" are interpreted as "clerical conferences on the Scriptures." Were they not much more than this, and different as well? Surely the contemporary trials and convictions of Separatists for the crime of unauthorized "prophesyings" call for a less restricted meaning to be attached to the term.

The indefatigable research has in late years brought to light one of Spenser's sisters, Sarah, and the name of her husband. In 1878 Dean Church could not have known that Spenser was twice married and that he had at least two children by his first wife and at least one by his second. On the other hand, it seems that we cannot consider as beyond doubt that it was our Edmund Spenser who married in 1579 Machabyas Chylde, and so this other or "altered" Rosalind vanishes from the scene for the nonce. Despite the baker's dozen of studies concerning the authorship of the *Shepheardes Calender* Glosses and of the identity of E. K., the matter remains a mystery, though the consensus of modern opinion leans towards Spenser himself as the Glossarist.

Altogether, Dr. Judson's wheat-gathering from the investigations instituted by a host of scholars in the last sixty-odd years is not conducive to gratulation. Not that the

labors have proved utterly fruitless, but that the sum total of the findings, as contributions to a biography of the poet, are slim and of no great moment. The query comes to mind whether or not the scholarly energies have always been wisely and effectively directed. It is conceivable, of course, that a further search of old documents may bring forth a few particulars of biographical point and value. But while one is not so rash as to counsel a discontinuance of this type of investigation, one is justified, perhaps, in expressing the hope that the other avenues of approach to Spenser and his time will hereafter be vouchsafed adequate traffic. Towards that end the many missing links in the first section of Dr. Judson's biography are highly suggestive. I set down a few of the important problems which have received either slight attention or none at all, or which have not been brought into proper relation with the career and figure of Spenser.

The biography before us would profit by a chapter or two portraying Spenser against the backdrop of his age: England and London in their historical, social, literary, religious, intellectual and artistic aspects. One notes that in Dr. Judson's volume the question of Spenser's religious views is pretty much neglected,—the term "Puritanism" does not appear in the Index. As for the literary environment, it scarcely exists in the book. No one expects a comprehensive treatment of the classical, mediaeval, and French and Italian influences revealed in Spenser's works, and we are very happy to do without a discussion of analogues, parallels, and remote, secondary, and direct sources. Material of this sort is properly relegated to the companion-volumes of the Variorum Edition. Yet the placing of Spenser in the midstream of the literary and intellectual life of his age may well be held a task which the biographer ought not to shirk. That Dr. Judson goes to the extreme of abnegation in this particular is evidenced by his limiting himself to three or four bare mentions of Chaucer. A Life of Spenser should by all means give sufficient heed to the merging in the poet of the mediaeval and the Renaissance,—a true clue to Spenser's personality.

The curriculum of studies in the Merchant Taylor's

School, the text-books used, the rhetorics in especial with their emphasis on figured speech and the modes of recognizing and developing the literary genres, the contents of the School Library—a list as of the year 1599 is published in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society of London*,—the pedagogical methods, the stress laid upon imitative writing and on translating, “latins” in particular,—these and allied topics call for a thorough study in conjunction with Spenser, something like that devoted to Shakspeare’s “small Latine and lesse Greeke” by Professor T. W. Baldwin. How much of value is to be gleaned from the text-book commentaries by Camerarius and other editors! Were not the studies, texts, and methods at Cambridge University, Pembroke Hall especially, important for Spenser in his preparation for the high office of the New Poet? How did he acquire a sound knowledge of French and Italian? Were these among the languages encouraged by Mulcaster, or was Spenser self-taught in them (“outside the required curriculum,” as Dr. Judson would have us believe, page 23)?

How did Spenser’s versions from the French of Marot and DuBellay get to the attention of Van der Noot for publication in the *Theatre for Worldlings* printed by Henry Bynneman? Is there no significance in the fact that Bynneman published two of Gascoigne’s works (1575, 1576), both dedicated to Grey of Wilton? Were not the printers’ and booksellers’ shops a meeting-place for authors, students, and booklovers,—and patrons as well? Perchance the headquarters for the exchange of manuscripts? A study of the books issued by Bynneman (and other printers) during a given period of years should prove not without avail. In the same way, the lack of a competent biography of Leicester makes itself felt in Spenser research. The attention given to music at the Merchant Taylor’s School invites a study of Elizabethan musical theory and practice,—the reader will recall that several of the Greek modes are touched on by E. K. in his Commentary. The ecclesiastical Eclogues alone demand a full consideration of the religious forces of the time, as related to Spenser’s ideas, not in the form of scattered essays on his “Calvinism,”

"Puritanism," or "Anglicanism," but an integrated work, above all concerned with the prelates who gathered about Young, Aylmer, Grindal, Cartwright, Whitgift, etc. Every student knows that plentiful material exists in this field. Ought it not to be brought into relation with Spenser and his works?

These are a few of the matters that need coherent and directed re-appraisal in connection with the life of Spenser. To me they seem far more important than the elusive mystery of E. K., which is still being rehashed *ad nauseam* along the traditional-academic lines,—it would appear that a fresh approach to the problem of the critical apparatus provided for the *Shepherd's Calendar* is badly needed. Dr. Judson's able and judicious summation of past research may be considered a challenge to further effort that would fill the gaps.

The picture is altogether different in the second, the largest part, of Dr. Judson's biography. Here the reader profits by the author's intimate acquaintance with the history of Elizabethan Ireland and his visits to the scenes associated with Spenser and with several books of the *Faerie Queene*. Here, too, the examination of contemporary documents has yielded a more bountiful return, and the biographer has at his command a wider variety of trustworthy studies of definite topics as well as of the whole of the *View of Ireland*. Chapter IX, "The Savage Island," is excellent as a setting for Spenser's life in exile and as an account of imperialist rule. The narratives of Spenser's visits to England will not soon be improved upon. History and the contemporary scene come fully into their own in this, the richer and more satisfactory part of Dr. Judson's book.

What is the final impression that one carries away after a reading of this new *Life of Spenser*? The answer will very likely depend on one's conception of the biographer's task, bearing in mind that in the case of Spenser, as of Shakspeare, we are in possession of only a scant record of personal data and outward incidents. If Dr. Judson has been rigorous in his separation of the chaff from the wheat,

if, acting on a praiseworthy principle, he has chosen to ignore a number of Spenser articles which others may think of consequence, we must conclude, I think, that his procedure is justified in view of the plethoric horror of the *omnium gatherum*. A lean diet of sound, ascertained facts is greatly to be preferred to the adipose weight of verbosely fanciful speculations.

On the other hand, some will conceive of the new biography as curiously depersonalized. They would like to be presented with the story of the gradual formation, growth, and ripening of a poet's mind and art, conditioned by a known and very real environment and by the conflict between a type of "Platonic" idealism and the hard actualities of the changing world in which the poet lived. Certain events in that very real world imposed upon Spenser the necessity of making sudden and unexpected alterations in some of his shorter poems (*e.g.*, *Mother Hubberds Tale*) and many more in the plan and shaping of the *Faerie Queene*. The vast epic owes its confusions and lack of unity not alone to Spenser's allegoric bent, the interchanging of heroes, the substitution of Tasso for Ariosto as models, etc., but equally as much to the swift, kaleidoscopic changes in the political and historical scenes whose sudden mutations and incoherencies and unreasoned shiftings it mirrors.

A biography of the poet Longfellow which failed to give adequate attention to the books he read and those he translated would be attenuated indeed, however detailed its recital of dates and personal happenings. How much more true is this of Spenser, Milton, Browning, who, unlike Longfellow, *absorbed* the books they read. The mere characterization (p. 140): "Spenser, passionate book-lover and voracious reader," does not suffice. A *Life of Spenser* which does not pursue the course of his reading, which does not reveal the literary springs of his being, is like the play of *Hamlet* without Hamlet and his philosophy and psychology. More than anything else the books that appealed to Spenser's mind and imagination and satisfied his cravings were his great adventures. They determined the bent of his thoughts, his outlook upon life, the literary modes he adapted to his purpose, the accents and tones of

his speech, the subtle qualities of his style and expression. In a real sense they were the larger part of his life. Suppose a document turned up tomorrow containing proof incontrovertible that Spenser "served as tutor to Susan Watts" during his time as Bishop Young's secretary, or that he was indeed the man who married Machabyas Chylde, what weight would these "facts" bear in comparison with the history of his mental processes, his far journeyings over the seas of literature, the rich cargoes he brought back, and the "deeds," the works, which he wrought with these cargoes?

Book-learned to a degree, Spenser sums up in himself and his works the writings of a vast era extending from the classic ages through mediaeval times on the continent and in his native land, through *quattrocento* and Renaissance Italy and France, down to his own day. Almost bewildering are the literary currents that merged in him, and he was perhaps never quite able to master and digest them all and bring them to coherent integration. He would fain have portrayed the throbbing life, the men and manners of his time, as his master Chaucer did for an earlier period, but his temperament and the structure of his mind prevented. The best he could do in that direction were *Mother Hubberds Tale*, *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, and parts of the *Shepheardes Calender*. Even in these there is little individual portrayal.

It is said that a great portrait painter, like John Singer Sargent, depicts not only the form and features of his sitter but discloses the condition of the mind, the secrets of the inner life. The biographer cannot content himself with a summary last-chapter sketch of the essential nature of his subject; he fulfills his duty only when he presents a sustained, developing portrait of a living person. The broad canvas at his disposal permits a full depiction of the background towards which the chief figure stands in an harmonious relation of blending and emerging. The difficulty in the case of Spenser is that early in life he had fallen under the spell of certain ancient conceptions which, though shared by some of his contemporaries, yet served to remove him, mentally at least, from the active environ-

ment about him. These conceptions he held to firmly to the end: the fickle changeableness of Fortune, the instability of mundane things, the contrast between earthly transitoriness and heavenly permanence, the belief in the imperishability of the divine "ideas" and eidolons, the hope and longing for the Sabaoth's rest and peace. In pastoral, pictorial, and allegoric vein he expressed his vision of an other worldly eternal realm existing coterminously with man's shifting and mutable state. Indiscriminately hospitable to most of the inventions and devices of the Muses, and often incapable of resisting the temptation to bring them together in incongruous juncture, he yet succeeded in imposing a semblance of order and even unity upon them through his singularly mellifluous sense of music, the magic-healing flow of harmony . . . All in all, it is a fascinating life-story that needs to be told about Edmund Spenser. *New York, N. Y.*

STALE PROMONTORY

All the world is Hamlet
Now
The infinite faculty pales resolution
Stays the hand
Suffers to be hoisted by old petars.

Claudius is here efficiently despatching business
Getting approval
Twisting a few zealous Laerteses,—
Killing.

Old Polonius prates of night, day, and peace,
Advises states and hides behind the Arras.
The guts are often lugged into the neighbor room.
Fortinbras has exercised his young battalions
On a few sledded Polacks.

Denmark is a stale promontory now
And a prison.

Ophelia maddens, jangles out of tune,
Escapes to Switzerland, Lisbon, America;
Composes
Horatio stands
To tell his hundred.

The world might have done it pat
But has not.
It faces poisoned foils.
Down it goes, weak in high achievement,
Cursing spite
That ever it was made to set things right,
Dying,
Knowing Claudius, his engineers and waterflies
Too will fall.

WILLARD HALLAM BONNER

Buffalo, N. Y.

SHAKSPERE ON THE ANTE-BELLUM CHARLESTON STAGE

By W. STANLEY HOOLE

Charleston's early theatrical history, considered by students of the drama to be as noteworthy as that of any other American city, is said to have begun *circa* 1703 when Anthony Aston, a playwright, arrived in the southern seaport "full of Lice, Shame, Poverty, Nakedness, and Hunger— . . . turned *Player* and *Poet* and wrote one Play on the Subject of the Country."¹ Not for thirty years, however, was the walled city to have a formal theatre—the well-known Dock Street Theatre,² America's third playhouse.³ But between its opening, February 12, 1736,⁴ and the Civil War at least six additional theatres were erected, the last two (in 1793 and 1837, respectively) with seating capacities of 1200 each, yet the total white population of the city in 1800 was but 9000 and in 1860 had reached only 23,000.⁵

In the eighteenth century Shakspeare's plays received some little attention at the hands of Charleston's theatrical producers. On April 12 and May 10, 1763, *Romeo and Juliet* and *King Lear* were presented by the David Douglass American Company; and in the 1773-1774 season twelve of Shakspeare's plays were acted sixteen times, including (April 20, 1774) the first American production of *Julius Caesar*.⁶

It was not until the turn of the century, however, when the "star" system, or players on special engagement, was introduced, that Shakspeare received fullest attention on the Charleston stage.

Between 1800 and 1860 the theatre (or theatres) of the city were annually opened for "Fall and Winter Seasons" which usually began in October or November and lasted until May or June.⁷ A regular stock company, consisting of from ten to thirty members, performed almost nightly throughout the season, themselves taking all roles or, during the engagement of a special player, acting as supporting cast.

That Shakspeare's plays were popular with ante-bellum Charleston audiences is putting it conservatively. Twenty-three of his dramas were produced for a total of 646 times between 1800-1860.⁸ Among them was the first American presentation of *A Winter's Tale*, April 1, 1811. Although the works of scores of other leading British and American dramatists were acted in the city, not one of these authors was able to keep pace with the Poet in either the frequency of presentation of any one play or the total number of performances of all plays. Dunlap's (or Smith's) *Pizarro* was presented 88 times, 1800-1858; Bulwer-Lytton's *The Lady of Lyons* 84 times, 1838-1860; Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* 74 times, 1801-1857; and John Tobin's *The Honeymoon* 71 times, 1805-1857. Other oft-performed plays include Dunlap's *The Stranger* (70), Kenney's *Raising the Wind* (61), Coleman's *The Review* and Bickerstaff's *The Spoil'd Child* (each 56), O'Keeffe's *The Poor Soldier* (49), Knowles' *The Hunchback* (48), and Kemble's *The Day after the Wedding* (45).

The following table gives the title and number of performances of each of Shakspeare's plays presented on the Charleston stage between 1800-1860.

PLAYS	1800-1819	1820-1839	1840-1860	Total
<i>Anthony and Cleopatra</i>	0	0	4	4
<i>As You Like It</i>	4	4	13	21
<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>	0	7	6	13
<i>Coriolanus</i>	3	6	1	10
<i>Cymbeline</i>	2	0	0	2
<i>Hamlet</i>	20	19	41	80
<i>Henry IV</i>	8	5	7	20
<i>Henry VIII</i>	3	2	2	7
<i>Julius Caesar</i>	2	8	1	11
<i>King John</i>	1	3	0	4
<i>King Lear</i>	5	10	11	26
<i>Love's Labor's Lost</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>Macbeth</i>	24	17	34	75
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	7	18	22	47
<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>	7	6	6	13
<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i> ...	8	14	14	36
<i>Othello</i>	15	21	27	63

<i>Richard III</i>	18	32	40	90
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	15	19	29	63
<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>	19	12	19	50 ⁹
<i>The Tempest</i>	3	2	0	5
<i>Twelfth Night</i>	0	0	3	3
<i>The Winter's Tale</i>	2	0	0	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	141	193	267	646

In addition to the above legitimate productions there were many alterations and adaptations of Shakspeare's plays. Not the least important were *Shakspeare's Jubilee*, a "grand olio" in which acts or scenes from several of the plays were performed, and *Man and Wife*, or *Shakspeare's Jubilee* (Coleman).¹⁰ *Chaos Is Come Again*, based on *Othello* (III, 3, 92), was presented twice in one month,¹¹ and there were frequent presentations of such farces, travesties and interludes as *All the World's a Stage* (Jackman), *To Be or Not To Be*, *Richard Number III* (Durivage), *Richard III on Horseback*, *Hamlet Travestie* (Poole), *Othello Travestie*, and *The Merchant of Smyrna*, an after-piece perhaps based on *The Merchant of Venice*.¹²

It may be supposed that the repetition of Shakspeare on the ante-bellum Charleston stage reflects in some measure the dramatic tastes of the cultured seaport, yet it must be remembered that some of these dramas may have been presented, not necessarily because of the demands of a discriminating audience, but because they included the favorite roles of the nationally or internationally famous visiting players. In such cases it was doubtless the star and not the vehicle that attracted patrons.

From April 14, 1805, when Tomas Aphorpe Cooper's *Hamlet* inaugurated the visiting star system, and April 2, 1860, when Edwin Booth and Julia Dean joined to play *Romeo and Juliet*, the Charleston theatres were continually visited by such outstanding actors and actresses of the English-speaking stage as Junius Brutus Booth, Edwin Forrest, Edmund Kean, James Hackett, James and Henry Wallack, Charles William Macready, Edward L. Davenport,

Charles Dibden Pitt, James E. Murdoch, George Vandenhoff, John Drew, John H. Dwyer, Clara Fisher, Fanny Fitzwilliams, Fanny Davenport, Anna Cora Mowatt, Annette Ince, and Eliza Logan. Each of course had one or more of Shakspeare's plays in his repertoire. And between special engagements the regular stock, which from year to year included one or more widely known players, also performed Shakspeare to a seemingly never tiring clientele.

Although stage histories of other southern cities are lamentably incomplete, a comparison of Shakspeare's plays presented in Charleston with those acted during one decade in Nashville¹³ and two decades in Richmond¹⁴ suggests that the dramatist was extremely popular throughout the entire ante-bellum South. Indeed, famous stars "on tour" usually played the same roles from city to city. The frequency with which *Richard III*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet* and other choice "starring roles" were offered re-emphasizes the supposition that the player and not always the play was "the thing."¹⁵

SUPPLEMENT

Following is a list of Shakspeare's plays presented in the Charleston theatres, 1800-1861, as based on contemporary newspaper accounts.

Anthony and Cleopatra: 1855, Jan. 9, 11; 1858, Dec. 31; 1859, Jan. 4.

As You Like It: 1801, Apr. 8; 1806, Jan. 17; 1816, Jan. 26; 1818, Jan. 19; 1820, Dec. 22; 1832, Mar. 19; 1833, Mar. 27; 1839, Apr. 10; 1840, Mar. 9, Apr. 10, Dec. 23; 1846, Feb. 6; 1850, Apr. 17; 1854, Feb. 22, 24; 1855, Nov. 8, 13, 30; 1857, Feb. 6, 10; 1859, Feb. 9.

Comedy of Errors: 1828, Feb. 18, 20, 22, 28; 1836, Mar. 24; 1839, Mar. 5, 9; 1852, Mar. 17, 18; 1857, Mar. 9, 10, 12, 13.

Coriolanus: 1807, Apr. 22; 1816, Mar. 27; 1818, May 4; 1820, Mar. 8; 1824, Mar. 20, Dec. 17, 23; 1827, Dec. 7; 1838, Jan. 29; 1851, Feb. 15.

Cymbeline: 1816, Jan. 22, Nov. 29.

Hamlet: 1801, Apr. 27; 1804, May 25; 1805, Mar. 21, Nov. 28; Dec. 20, 24; 1806, Apr. 14; 1807, Apr. 9; 1808, Apr. 4; 1809, Feb. 3; 1810, Feb. 12, Mar. 30; 1812, Mar. 20; 1816, Mar. 20; 1817, Mar. 21; 1818, Feb. 6, Apr. 1, Nov. 2; 1819, Feb. 5, Apr. 13; 1820, Feb. 2; 1821, May 2, Dec. 7; 1824, Dec. 1; 1826, Mar. 31; 1827, Jan. 24, Mar. 23; 1828, Feb. 6, Dec. 3; 1831, Feb. 23; 1832, Mar. 1, 9; 1835, Mar. 27; 1837, Dec. 29; 1838, Feb. 5, 7, Mar. 6; 1839, Feb. 5, Dec. 12; 1840, Feb. 11; 1841, Apr. 26; 1842, Feb. 1, 7, 9, Dec. 23; 1844, Jan. 8, 19, Feb. 24; 1845, Nov. 20; 1846, Feb. 16, Nov. 6, Dec. 4; 1847, Jan. 18, 28, Dec. 25, 28; 1848, Feb. 22, Oct. 31; 1849, Jan. 12, 29; 1850, Feb. 8; 1851, Feb. 17; 1852, Mar. 19, 25, Dec. 17; 1853, Dec. 29; 1854, Jan. 28; 1855, Jan. 1, 8, 29, Oct. 16; 1856, Jan. 17, Dec. 1, 4; 1857, Jan. 12, Nov. 2; 1858, Dec. 15; 1859, Mar. 23, 31; 1860, Mar. 27.

Henry IV: 1806, Feb. 7, Dec. 12; 1807, May 20, Dec. 28; 1811, Apr. 24; 1815, Dec. 11; 1818, Jan. 23, Nov. 11; 1824, Mar. 12; 1831, Mar. 18; 1832, Feb. 27; 1838, Mar. 12, 16; 1842, Feb. 14, 17; 1843, Jan. 11, Dec. 20; 1845, Nov. 22; 1846, Jan. 10; 1848, Feb. 4.

Henry VIII: 1802, Apr. 12; 1817, Mar. 5, 7; 1823, Dec. 15, 29; 1850, Apr. 24; 1854, Mar. 9.

Julius Caesar: 1818, Apr. 20; 1819, Apr. 28; 1820, Feb. 11; 1824, Mar. 4, Dec. 6; 1827, Feb. 28; 1830, Feb. 12, 23; 1838, Feb. 8, Mar. 29; 1851, Feb. 13.

King John: 1805, May 31; 1823, June 9; 1824, Mar. 15; 1827, Mar. 5.

King Lear: 1807, May 13, 16; 1810, Mar. 20; 1817, Apr. 7, May 2; 1821, Apr. 16, Dec. 3; 1825, Mar. 25, 28; 1826, Mar. 20; 1827, Mar. 12; 1838, Jan. 31, Mar. 22, 27; 1839, Jan. 14; 1840, Feb. 22; 1841, Jan. 22; 1842, Feb. 16; 1844, Feb. 23, Dec. 26; 1847, Jan. 26; 1850, Feb. 9; 1852, Mar. 27; 1854, Feb. 13; 1857, Oct. 26; 1859, Apr. 5.

Love's Labor's Lost: 1860, Oct. 16.

Macbeth: 1801, Mar. 2; 1802, Feb. 9, Dec. 8; 1803, Dec. 9; 1804, Dec. 15; 1806, Jan. 24, Apr. 16, May 13, 15; 1807, Jan. 6, Apr. 28; 1808, Nov. 21; 1809, Feb. 10; 1810, Feb. 28; 1811, Apr. 8, 19; 1812, Apr. 16, 22; 1816, Feb. 5, Apr. 3, Dec. 23; 1817, Feb. 27; 1818, Mar. 27; 1819, Feb. 3; 1820, Jan. 17, Mar. 3, 22; 1821, May 26; 1823, June 25; 1824, Jan. 31, Dec. 4; 1826, Mar. 29; 1827, Jan. 31, Feb. 16; 1828, Dec. 12; 1830, Mar. 2; 1832, Mar. 13, Dec. 14; 1838, Feb. 9, Apr. 28; 1839, May 20; 1840, Feb. 15, 19; 1841, Jan. 14; 1843, Jan. 25, Apr. 29, Dec. 12; 1844, Jan. 10, Mar. 5; 1846, Feb. 4, 19; 1847, Jan. 29, Feb. 5; 1849, Jan. 8; 1850, Apr. 16, 20; 1851, Feb. 10, 18; 1853, Jan. 5, 20, Feb. 12, Nov. 14, 16, Dec. 19; 1854, Nov. 16, 23; 1855, Feb. 7, Oct. 22; 1856, Dec. 30; 1857, Jan. 13, Dec. 12; 1858, Dec. 18; 1859, Apr. 1, 4; 1860, Mar. 31.

The Merchant of Venice: 1800, Jan. 16; 1802, Apr. 28; 1803, Nov. 14; 1811, Apr. 22; 1815, Nov. 24; 1818, Jan. 16, Oct. 29; 1820, Mar. 10; 1821, Mar. 26; 1822, Feb. 27; 1825, Mar. 29; 1826, Mar. 22, Apr. 3; 1827, Apr. 6; 1829, Mar. 24, Dec. 7; 1832, Feb. 11, Dec. 15; 1833, Feb. 28; 1834, Nov. 27; 1835, Apr. 11, Nov. 19; 1838, Mar. 24; 1839, Jan. 12, Feb. 1; 1840, Feb. 12; 1841, Apr. 23; 1843, May 4; 1844, Feb. 28; 1845, Jan. 22, Nov. 11; 1846, Feb. 11; 1848, Jan. 1, Mar. 16; 1849, Jan. 15; 1851, Feb. 21, Apr. 30; 1853, Jan. 14, 18, 27, Nov. 8, Dec. 8; 1855, Feb. 8, Nov. 21, 24; 1856, Dec. 3; 1860, Apr. 3.

Merry Wives of Windsor: 1807, Mar. 2; 1820, Feb. 28; 1821, May 14, 18; 1822, Apr. 26; 1823, June 4, 11; 1842, Feb. 21, 23, 25; 1843, Dec. 22; 1855, Dec. 8, 22.

Much Ado About Nothing: 1804, Feb. 25; 1805, Mar. 1; 1807, May 27; 1816, Jan. 31, Feb. 27; 1817, Jan. 29; 1818, Feb. 9; 1819, Apr. 21; 1820, Dec. 1; 1824, Jan. 26, Nov. 29; 1827, Apr. 3, 21, 30; 1829, Apr. 3; 1832, Mar. 2; 1835, Mar. 18, 21; 1838, Jan. 4, 15, Apr. 24; 1839, May 15; 1844, Mar. 4, 15; 1846, Feb. 3, 13, Dec. 9; 1850, Mar. 14; 1852, Dec. 29; 1853, Feb. 23; 1854, Feb. 20, Nov. 22; 1855, Feb. 15; 1856, Dec. 2; 1859, Feb. 4; 1860, Mar. 23.

Othello: 1809, Jan. 30, Feb. 17; 1810, Feb. 16, Mar. 2; 1811, Mar. 23; 1812, Feb. 10, Apr. 8; 1816, Feb. 12, Mar. 25, Dec. 20; 1818, Feb. 13, Apr. 10, Nov. 9; 1819, Feb. 6, 26; 1820, Feb. 1; 1822, Mar. 1; 1824, Dec. 8; 1825, Mar. 26; 1826, Mar. 15, Apr. 7; 1827, Feb. 12, 23, Mar. 3; 1830, Feb. 5, 20; 1831, Mar. 7; 1832, Feb. 18; 1834, Oct. 23; 1835, Mar. 4, 6, 25, Nov. 17; 1836, Mar. 14; 1838, Jan. 25, Mar. 21; 1840, Dec. 29; 1841, Apr. 22; 1842, Feb. 8; 1843, Mar. 2, Dec. 16; 1844, Jan. 15, Feb. 17, Dec. 27; 1847, Jan. 25; 1848, Feb. 8; 1849, Jan. 30; 1850, Jan. 29, Feb. 15; 1851, Feb. 11, Apr. 29; 1852, Jan. 13, Mar. 23, Dec. 18, 28; 1853, Nov. 10; 1855, Jan. 30; 1856, Nov. 10, Dec. 31; 1857, Dec. 21; 1859, Mar. 28, Apr. 8; 1860, Mar. 21.

Richard III: 1800, Jan. 31; 1804, Feb. 10, 29; 1806, Jan. 29, Apr. 21, Nov. 17, Dec. 20; 1807, Apr. 17; 1808, May 23, Dec. 2; 1809, Feb. 15; 1810, Mar. 1; 1811, May 9; 1815, Nov. 27; 1816, Mar. 23; 1818, Mar. 2, Oct. 30; 1819, Feb. 8; 1820, Apr. 26; 1821, Apr. 6, 14, Nov. 29; 1822, Feb. 22; 1823, June 18, Dec. 27; 1824, Feb. 27; 1825, Feb. 9, Mar. 18; 1826, Mar. 13, Apr. 10; 1827, May 9; 1828, Feb. 11; 1829, Apr. 10, May 2; 1830, Jan. 4, Mar. 4; 1832, Feb. 13, Mar. 5; 1833, Mar. 4; 1835, Nov. 18, 21, Dec. 1; 1838, Feb. 23, Mar. 7, 20, 28; 1839, Jan. 9, 16, 31, Feb. 2; 1840, Feb. 13, 18; 1841, Jan. 21; 1843, Feb. 17, Dec. 15; 1844, Feb. 21, Mar. 13, Dec. 23, 31; 1845, Nov. 18; 1846, Jan. 21, Dec. 7; 1847, Dec. 22, 24; 1849, Feb. 2, May 28; 1850, Feb. 4, 13; 1851, Feb. 7, 20, May 7, 14; 1852, Mar. 22, 29; 1853, Jan. 11, 17, 22, 28, Mar. 2, Nov. 19, Dec. 1; 1855, Dec. 27; 1856, Feb. 2; 1857, Nov. 7; 1858, Feb. 20; 1859, Mar. 25, Apr. 2; 1860, Jan. 14, Mar. 24, 29.

Romeo and Juliet: 1803, May 6; 1804, Nov. 19; 1806, Apr. 28, Dec. 17; 1807, May 2; 1809, Feb. 20; 1810, Apr. 4; 1811, Feb. 28; 1816, Apr. 8, Nov. 25; 1817, Jan. 20, Dec. 24; 1818, Feb. 4, Apr. 14; 1819, Apr. 22; 1820, Mar. 6; 1822, May 11; 1823, June 20; 1824, Dec. 22; 1827, Feb. 26; 1828, Feb. 2, Nov. 27; 1829, Mar. 2; 1830, Feb. 25, May 17, Dec. 3; 1832, Feb. 29, Nov. 28; 1833, Mar. 2; 1835, Mar. 7, 24; 1836, Feb. 11, Mar. 3; 1839, Feb. 28; 1840, Nov. 14, 25, Dec. 24; 1842, Feb. 24; 1845, Dec. 10, 17; 1846, Jan. 17, Feb. 14, Dec. 8; 1847, Dec. 29; 1848, Oct. 28, Nov. 1; 1850,

Feb. 1, Mar. 7; 1852, Feb. 3, 25, Dec. 2; 1853, Jan. 7, Nov. 7; 1854, Mar. 2, Nov. 3, Dec. 8; 1855, Feb. 9, 22; 1856, Feb. 27; 1857, Jan. 19, May 11, Dec. 4; 1860, Apr. 2.

The Taming of the Shrew: 1801, Mar. 4, 27; 1802, Dec. 13; 1804, Apr. 12; 1805, Mar. 9; 1806, Feb. 12, May 2; 1807, Apr. 28, Dec. 19; 1809, Jan. 14, Feb. 20; 1810, Mar. 7; 1811, Apr. 1; 1812, Feb. 28; 1816, Jan. 29, Mar. 29; 1817, Feb. 12; 1818, Apr. 6; 1819, Apr. 26; 1820, Apr. 24; 1824, Apr. 28, Nov. 29; 1825, Apr. 7; 1827, Feb. 5, 19; 1828, Dec. 19; 1830, Mar. 4; 1833, Jan. 4, Mar. 21; 1835, Mar. 30; 1836, Apr. 7; 1843, Jan. 14; 1844, Mar. 16; 1846, Jan. 14; 1847, Dec. 21; 1850, Mar. 23; 1851, Jan. 23, Feb. 3, 21, May 1; 1852, Dec. 17, 25; 1854, Mar. 13; 1855, Apr. 19; 1858, Feb. 19, Dec. 17; 1859, Mar. 14, 26; 1860, Mar. 30, Apr. 3.

The Tempest: 1802, May 12; 1806, Mar. 31; 1818, Apr. 29; 1839, Apr. 8, 11.

Twelfth Night: 1846, Feb. 12; 1855, Nov. 26, 27.

A Winter's Tale: 1811, Apr. 1, 17.

University of Alabama
University, Ala.

¹George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1927—), I, 7.

²See *Life*, III, 49-50 (December 20, 1937) for an account of the recent restoration of the Dock Street Theatre.

³The first is said to have been in Williamsburg, Va., in the late 1720's; the second in New York City sometime before 1732 (Odell, *op. cit.*, 9-10).

⁴It opened with Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*. This, however, was not the first Charleston performance. A year earlier, January 24, 1735, the first theatrical season, complete with the first American prologue, was held in the Council Chambers of the Colony's Court-House (*ibid.*, I, 19-20).

⁵W. Stanley Hoole, "Two Famous Theatres of the Old South," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXVI, 273-277 (July, 1937).

⁶Eola Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century* (Columbia, 1924), pp. 44, 73-74. The plays presented were: *Hamlet*, Dec. 24, 1773; *Cymbeline*, Jan. 21, Apr. 29; *Henry IV*, Feb. 17; *Julius Caesar*, Apr. 20; *King John*, May 19; *King Lear*, Mar. 12; *Macbeth*, Apr. 22; *The Merchant of Venice*, Jan. 29; *Othello*, Feb. 24; *Richard III*, Jan. 31; *Romeo and Juliet*, Jan. 27, Mar. 26; *The Tempest*, Feb. 2, 12, Mar. 14, 1774.

⁷There was a season every year except 1813-1814, 1814-1815, and during 1835-1836 the theatre degenerated into what approximated a circus side-show.

⁸This figure represents the professional performances only and does not include local amateur productions such as that of *Macbeth*, May 23, 1838, by a home-talent theatrical group.

⁹This figure includes *Catherine and Petruchio*, David Garrick's adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew*. It was usually advertised as Shakspeare's, however.

¹⁰Apr. 14, 1800; Apr. 30, 1804; Apr. 28, 1812; and Apr. 28, 1824.

¹¹Mar. 12-13, 1840.

¹²*All the World's a Stage*: Mar. 5, 23, Dec. 22, 1802; Dec. 9, 1803; Jan. 3,

1806; Jan. 28, 1811; Nov. 27, Dec. 1, 1845; Feb. 12, 1847; *To Be or Not to Be*: Feb. 11-12, 1839; *Richard Number III*: Dec. 29-30, 1843; *Richard III on Horseback*: Nov. 11, 1859; *Hamlet Travestie*: Feb. 28, 1818; May 8, 1822; Dec. 10, 1828; Mar. 12, 27, 1832; *Oibello Travestie*: Apr. 18, 20, 21, 1857; *The Merchant of Smyrna*: May 20, 1801.

¹³Douglas L. Hunt, "The Nashville Theatre, 1830-1840," *Birmingham-Southern College Bulletin*, XXVIII, 3-88 (May, 1935).

¹⁴Martin Staples Shockley, "Shakespere's Plays in the Richmond Theatre, 1819-1838," *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, XV, 88-94 (April, 1940).

¹⁵This paper is based on the author's manuscript, *The Anti-Bellum Charleston Theatre*, written under the sponsorship of the Rockefeller Foundation, and to be published by the University of Alabama Press early in 1946.



INFORMATION WANTED

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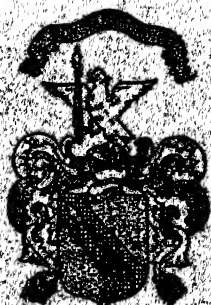
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April, 1946

Vol. XXI, No. 2

The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



Heine and Shakspeare

Melancholy Jaques Interviews Jan Maschfield and
Reports to the Shakspeare Banquet

Romance in a Reference Book

On Reading John Ford

Shakspeare Crosses the Rhine

Nat. Eichel Was Whose Scholar?

Henry IV, Parts I and II, and Spanish Tragedy
Edition of Geoffrey Chaucer

Notices

The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc.
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The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc.

Incorporated 1923

Headquarters: 601 WEST 113TH STREET

New York 25, N. Y.

The Shakespeare Association of America aims to unite all the lovers of the poet and to encourage and enlarge the widespread interest in his works. It will serve as a means of communication in the Shakesperian world, reporting what is being done in his honor or service, whether on the stage or in the schoolroom, in club or in university. Its purpose includes co-operation in every enterprise that will be helpful to a knowledge of the man and his works, whether scholarly, educational, or theatrical.

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HEINE AND SHAKSPERE

BY WALTER WADEPUHL

H EINRICH Heine, one of Germany's foremost lyric poets and a self-confessed failure as a dramatist, wrote in 1838 a book entitled *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*.¹ Although not a single English critic and only a few German specialists have ever touched on the question of Heine and Shakspeare, it is surprising to find this comparatively unknown work quoted in the bibliography of Neilson and Thorndike's *Facts about Shakespeare*,² whereas the fundamental Shakspeare studies of Heine's contemporaries Grabbe, Otto Ludwig, and Hebbel are not mentioned. Undoubtedly Heine owes the inclusion of his name to his international reputation as a lyric poet; and the others, although well-known German dramatists, were excluded because they were not sufficiently familiar to the English-speaking Shakspeare scholars. It is noteworthy, moreover, that in Germany the evaluation of Heine's work on Shakspeare has undergone considerable changes. Adolf Strodtmann, Heine's first biographer, devotes (in 1869) only a few lines to this book and calls it a "careless piece of work," by which phrase it is still designated in 1905 in Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon*. Ernst Elster, the dean of Heine scholars, in his standard edition of Heine's works, devotes (in 1890) two pages to the genesis of this work, but refrains from giving his personal evaluation and lets a newspaper review of 1838 take his place. E. A. Schalles in a dissertation, *Heines Verhältnis zu Shakespeare*, enumerates (in 1904) for the first time Heine's frequent Shakspeare quotations, refers to the Shaksperian actors whom Heine saw in Berlin and London, discusses the influence of Shakspeare on Heine's youthful drama *William Ratcliff*, and comments on Heine's attitude to Shakspeare and the Greek drama, and to Shakspeare's originality and style; he analyzes Heine's work *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*, its sources, the characterization of the female characters in Shakspeare, Heine's corrections of Schlegel's translation, and the development of Shakspeare interest in England, Germany, and France. Schalles concludes that Heine's work is artistically arranged, colloquially and well written,

and that it contains some excellent characterizations; but he also points out that the style and treatment are very uneven, that the book is replete with journalistic phrases, that the author deviates too often from his topic, that the subjective elements are too predominant, and that the long quotations from Guizot and Michelet are out of place and tedious.⁵ Eduard Engel edited in 1921 a separate edition of *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*, and for the first time since 1838 offered reproductions of the portraits. He presents a one-sided appraisal of the book, as he is intent on securing for it an honorable place in Shakspeare philology; his introduction contains many inaccuracies, shows careless and superficial work, and a confused knowledge of the fundamental facts of the case.⁶ Unfortunately, it is the most recent individual study of Heine and Shakspeare and carries considerable weight. Finally, Max J. Wolff published in 1922 a biography of Heine.⁷ Wolff is not only an excellent authority on Heine but also well-known for his two volumes on Shakspeare;⁸ here we have the fortunate combination of an accepted Heine and Shakspeare scholar who discusses the relationship of the two poets. His evaluation of Heine's book on Shakspeare, to which he devotes four pages, is entirely negative and agrees with Heine's own words that it is "no masterpiece but good enough for the purpose."

This short historical sketch exhausts the criticism of Heine's *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*. It was at first very brief and negative, until Schalles pointed out that Heine's treatise contained many interesting observations on Shakspeare. More recently and almost simultaneously, Engel in 1921 apraised Heine's book as a masterpiece in Shakspeare research, and Wolff in 1922 disposed of it as a mediocre piece of work.

In the present article I shall attempt to re-evaluate Heine's utterances about the English dramatist and to furnish an obective picture of Heine's knowledge of Shakspeare before 1838, of Heine's work *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*, and of Heine's knowledge of Shakspeare after 1838.

It has been asserted that Heine was well acquainted with Shakspeare from his earliest youth. There is no proof for this assertion; Heine's education, on the contrary, speaks against an early knowledge of the English dramatist. Heine was born in 1797 in Düsseldorf which was then under French rule. The Lycée, which he attended from 1807 to 1814, was organized on French educational principles, and the school curriculum followed in the footsteps of the old French classical tradition. Poetry was interpreted according to the rigid laws of Boileau's *Art Poétique*, English was not taught at all and, if Shakspeare was ever mentioned in the literary courses, it surely was only according to Voltaire's interpretation of the English barbarian.¹⁰ If anything, this secondary education discouraged a study of the English dramatist; in conformity with this background, Heine never mentioned Shakspeare until 1821 when he was twenty-four years old.

When, after an unsuccessful business career in Hamburg, Heine, having decided to study law, in 1819 entered the University of Bonn, he had the exceedingly good fortune to find on the faculty the great Shakspeare scholar August Wilhelm Schlegel, with whom he took courses in the History of the German Language and Literature, and in Metrics, Prosody, and Declamation.¹¹ There is little doubt that Schlegel discussed Shakspeare in these courses and that he stimulated in Heine an interest in the English dramatist. Heine's first references to Shakspeare date from this time and are of a very general character. In his review of Smet's *Tassos Tod*, he speaks of the exposition, the motivated action, and the portrayal of human passions in Shakspeare's dramas.¹² When Friedrich Steinmann sent Heine a drama for criticism, he replied to his friend in February 1821: "You will have produced real tragedies. But whether good ones. That is the question, says the Prince of Denmark"; in addition, he recommends for the German drama the use of the iambic pentameter which, however, should not rhyme except in highly lyrical passages, as in the conversation between Romeo and Juliet.¹³ There is a pedantic trend in these discussions and, no doubt, Heine made here free use of the notes he had taken on the lectures of

Schlegel. A careful reading of all of Heine's Shakespeare quotations leaves the definite impression that Schlegel had used *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* most frequently,¹⁴ and his utterances about them show a better understanding and a deeper appreciation than of the other Shaksperian plays.

After this theoretical introduction to the aesthetic elements and to the dramatic structure of Shakspeare's dramas, and after a stay of one semester in Göttingen, Heine went to Berlin to continue his legal studies at the university from February 1821 to May 1824. In Berlin he became acquainted with the interpretative aspect of Shakspeare's works. He frequented the Grabbe circle where Shakspeare dramas were often read in assigned rôles;¹⁵ he saw the outstanding actors Ludwig Devrient, P. A. Wolff, Auguste Stich-Crelinger, and Sophie Müller on the stage, portraying the best known characters of Shakspeare's plays;¹⁶ and he became the welcome and regular guest at the Salon of Varnhagen von Ense, where the Goethe cult was flourishing and where also Shakspeare was cultivated. Here Heine read parts of Franz Horn's *Shakespeares Schauspiele erläutert* which appeared in 1823, and discussed them with Varnhagen;¹⁷ from now on, he frequently speaks of Goethe and Shakspeare in the same breath.¹⁸ When the German dramatist Karl Immermann asked (in 1823) for Heine's opinion of his drama *Periander*, Heine compares the dramatic method of his friend with that employed by Shakspeare and praises the latter's universality, and art of motivation and concentration. In Berlin Heine attended performances of *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Richard III*, *Henry IV*, and *Macbeth*,¹⁹ the latter probably in Schiller's translation, and, no doubt, of *Hamlet*. The total absence of any Shakspeare quotations during this period shows that Heine never read these plays but only saw them on the stage; we have only one Shakspeare quotation, a parody on "A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!"²⁰ which had probably impressed him during a performance of *Richard III*. This passive attitude can easily be understood, if we realize that Schlegel had then translated only seventeen plays by Shakspeare; they were almost inaccessible, and the popular translation

of Shakspeare's works by Tieck and Schlegel did not begin to appear until 1825.

In the fall of 1824 Heine returned to Göttingen to complete his legal studies. Although he took with him from Berlin an intuitive admiration of Shakspeare, his actual understanding of and appreciation for the English dramatist was still very inadequate. When Immermann asked (in 1825) for Heine's criticism of his drama *Das Auge der Liebe*, Heine was reading *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, on which Immermann's drama was based, but he offered little more than the empty words that Immermann's work did not suffer by this comparison.²¹ On the occasion of Byron's death, Heine compared his relationship to Byron merely as that of a "confrère"; to Shakspeare, on the other hand, he looked up in admiration "as a minister of state who could dismiss him, his councillor, at any moment."²² Meanwhile the new translation of Shakspeare's works by Tieck and Schlegel had begun to appear and, apparently stimulated by the reading of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, probably the only Shaksperian drama Heine had read since he left Bonn, we hear a few months later that Heine was occupied with the reading of Shakspeare.²³ This has been interpreted to mean several of Shakspeare's plays; in reality, it probably refers only to *King Lear*. Heine was particularly impressed by the character of the fool; in letters to his friends during the following months he discusses the wit of the fool and Shakspeare's method of using the fool to express the most horrible things in life.²⁴ This seems to have exhausted Heine's occupation with Shakspeare; and from 1825 to 1827 we have only a few general references to the English dramatist. Heine ridicules Tieck's claim that Lady Macbeth was by nature a charming person, and he points to Tieck with the sarcastic remark, "Every inch a fool";²⁵ the modern censor reminds Heine of Falstaff, as neither can be prevailed upon to account for his actions;²⁶ Heine humorously compares Hamlet's famous monologue with a similar passage in his own drama *Almansor*;²⁷ he ironically distorts Hamlet's words: "He was a man, take him for all in all, I shall not look upon his like again";²⁸ he speaks of the fool in *King Lear*,²⁹ and

he coins a pun on the name of "Banco,"³⁰ which in German is the commercial term for "cash."

From April to July 1827 Heine was in London, where he diligently attended the Drury Lane Theatre to see Shakspeare's plays and where he saw the famous Kean in the rôles of Othello, Shylock, Richard III, and Macbeth.³¹ This probably exhausted the actor's Shakspeare repertoire during these three months, so that we can add *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice* to the list of Shakspeare plays that Heine had seen. He must also have attended a performance of *Twelfth Night*; although he does not refer to this play by its title, a personal and unpleasant experience in a tavern a short time later reminds him of the drunken Sir Toby.³² It is surprising that these English performances had no immediate repercussion;³³ it is not until October 1829 that we find Heine again occupied with Shakspeare, reading *Romeo and Juliet* and *Henry IV*.³⁴ The former he studied in preparation for his famous parody in *Die Bäder von Lükka* (1829);³⁵ the latter he quotes frequently in the same work, but always in connection with the character of Falstaff. At this time Heine also read some of Shakspeare's *Sonnets*,³⁶ probably in Lachmann's translation which had appeared in Berlin in 1823; he did not read them, however, for pure enjoyment, but for the purpose of finding in them some homosexual elements which Platen had suggested in his poem "Shakespeare und seine Sonette," before Heine launched his annihilating satire against this contemporary German poet. When in *Die Stadt Lükka* (1830) Heine tells of his philosophical conversation with the Lizard, he adapts Hamlet's words by stating that "There are things in heaven and earth which not only philosophers but even ordinary blockheads do not comprehend",³⁷ and when, in the same book, he discusses the abuses of a state religion, he paraphrases a quotation from *Henry IV* and says: "The new recruits of the state religion resemble the soldiers which Falstaff hired—they fill the churches."³⁸ In his radical Introduction to *Kahldorf über den Adel*, Heine compares Rousseau's task of challenging the conventional lies of court ethics with that of Hamlet, avenging the corrupt morals of the Danish court, and he exclaims: "The time is out of joint:—O cursed spite, That

ever I was born to set it right";³⁹ in *Französische Maler* (1831), Heine says that the character of Lessore's painting "The sick Brother" would be fitly expressed by Hamlet's words, "The modesty of nature,"⁴⁰ and in *Französische Zustände* (1832) Heine compares Mirabeau's character in Jules Janin's *L'Ane mort et la femme guillotinée* with the mongrel character of Caliban,⁴¹ and he has two references to the evasive tactics employed by Sir John in *Henry IV*.⁴²

During the early thirties Heine wrote *Elementargeister*; in this work he also discusses the treatment of the folklore elements in Shakspeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Macbeth*. It may be doubted that Heine reread these plays, as his remarks are all very general in nature; they probably reflect Schlegel's treatment of the witches in Schiller's *Macbeth*, or were taken from some contemporary work on this subject. *Die romantische Schule* (1833) afforded Heine an opportunity to assign to Schlegel his important place in German literature as the translator of Shakspeare's works, and in Tieck's dramatic satires he recognized a successful attempt to imitate Shakspeare's art. A reference in Heine's critical study to the edition of *The Plays of William Shakespeare* by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens (1773) shows that he read some of the notes and commentaries, and that from them he derived his knowledge of Voltaire's view of Shakspeare, and probably also learned the fundamental facts about Shakspeare's life.⁴⁷ Interesting is Heine's interpretation of the duality of Hamlet's character. Just as an author whose works are subjected to censorship has to circumscribe the truth by the use of wit and satire, so Hamlet's pretexts are purely external; at heart he is an honest man, as is demonstrated by his own words: "We are arrant knaves all; believe none of us."⁴⁸ In his book *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* (1834), Heine rejects the view of the Republicans of the French Revolution that social equality represents a levelling process which excludes the beautiful things of life; he retorts to their Puritan philosophy with the words of Sir Toby Belch in *Twelfth Night*: "Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?"⁴⁹ Heine's introduction to *Don Quixote* (1837) conforms to the old

and conventional Romantic conception of enumerating Cervantes, Shakspeare, and Goethe as the great literary triumvirate of the epic, dramatic, and lyric arts.⁵⁰ Heine recognizes a great similarity between Cervantes and Shakspeare; their works are the products of the periods of King Philip and Queen Elizabeth respectively, and differ from those of their contemporaries only by their greater depth, fervor, subtlety, and vigor, and by the fact that they are more profoundly imbued with the ethereal spirit of poetry. Both poets represent not only the culmination of art in their own times, but also lay the foundations of modern literature. Shakspeare's plays have exerted an enormous influence in England, Germany and France, and have become the basis of a new dramatic art.⁵¹ Finally, Heine's work *Ueber die französische Bühne* (1837) comments on the influence of Shakspeare upon the contemporary French romanticists, particularly upon Alexandre Dumas;⁵² in this book Heine also contrasts the differences of the dramatic interpretation of Kean in England and Lemaître in France,⁵³ and he characterizes the dramatic art of the Shaksperian actors Boccage in Paris⁵⁴ and Devrient in Berlin.⁵⁵ The ideas here expressed, however, are probably not Heine's own but those of his friend J. H. Detmold, as is indicated by passages in their unpublished correspondence.⁵⁶

If we sum up what Heine actually knew about Shakspeare in 1838, we can safely state the following: during his youth Heine was not familiar with Shakspeare; he was introduced to the art and technique of the English dramatist in Bonn through Schlegel, who probably analyzed *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* in the classroom. Heine attended the first performances of Shakspeare's plays in Berlin, and later he also saw the great Shaksperian actor Kean in London. We know that he read *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *King Lear*, *Henry IV*, and a few of the *Sonnets*, and that he attended performances of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Richard III*, *Henry IV*, *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *Twelfth Night*. These ten plays constitute Heine's acquaintance with Shakspeare's works, and to them he confines his remarks about the English dramatist; we have no

proof that Heine was acquainted with any of the remaining twenty-seven plays by Shakspeare. Heine's early utterances about Shakspeare are dogmatic and reflect the teachings of Schlegel, and his numerous quotations from Shakspeare, which he repeats again and again, are, with the exception of *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet*, mostly superficial and commonplace, and frequently appear in a distorted form to suit Heine's purposes. Heine's discussions of Shakspeare's dramatic art are either by comparison or by analogy; Shakspeare is employed as a standard by which Heine judges the dramatic productions of his friends, or Shakspeare's art is extolled together with the outstanding works of such poets as Goethe or Cervantes. The commentaries on Shakspeare that Heine knew were several chapters of Franz Horn's *Shakespeares Schauspiele erläutert*, the main treatises on Shakspeare by Tieck and Schlegel, and the edition of *The Plays of Shakespeare* by Johnson and Steevens. This was Heine's background when he wrote *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*.

Heine's book *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen* was written at the request of the French publisher Delloye, who wanted to make use of a collection of copper plates of the female characters of Shakspeare which had already appeared in England and also in two editions for the French public. He now planned to publish a German edition, for which he wished to secure an introductory and explanatory text from a famous German author. He wavered in his choice between Tieck and Heine, when the latter, who was then pressed for money, accepted his liberal offer of a maximum of 4000 francs.

[To be continued]

MELANCHOLY JAKUES INTERVIEWS JAN
MASEFIELD AND REPORTS TO THE
SHAKSPERE BANQUET

April 23, 1935

By JANIE F. BASKIN

A poet, a poet, I met a poet in the world,
A dreaming poet in an enchanted land.
As I do live by song and sentiment, I met a poet!
Jan Masefield, so I heard one call him then —
But to my tale! I had not wandered far,
I think 'twas on the outskirts of our wood,
I glimpsed a garden with a magic lure,
A garden bright with April's panoply.

I strayed within, for something drew me on,
And there I found him at his poet's lodge
Within the shadow of a hedge of gorse
Whose prickles shut him out from ruder gaze.

It needed not words to tell me who he was,
This poet dreaming dreams of other worlds.
His eyes were blue, a deep, deep shining blue,
But wistful, haunting, as if his soul thru them
Quested the elusive presence of his dreams.

Apparently he saw me not, and yet,
As if in answer to my unspoken thought,
He spoke aloud, a poet's yearning cry:

“Beauty, you lifted up my sleeping eyes,
And filled my heart with longing with a look;
And all the day I searched but could not find
The beautiful dark-eyed who touched me there.
Delight in her made trouble in my mind,
She was within all Nature, everywhere,
The breath I breathed, the brook, the flower, the grass,
Were her, her word, her beauty, all she was.”

“If I could come again to that dear place
Where once I came, where Beauty lived and moved,
Where, by the sea, I saw her face to face,—”

The sea!

Some magic in the utterance of the word
Transfigured his mild countenance, when I
Unthinking broke the spell, and asked aloud,
"You love the sea?" "I worship her," he said,
Simply, unheeding my rude presence there.
It scarcely needed question on my part.
"I went to sea as a boy." He spoke half musingly,
"I know the varying moods of wind and waves,
And ships — Ah, how I love them,

"Riding the sea, making the waves give place,
In delicate high beauty —"

His face was all aglow with pictured thought,
And as he spoke, his voice broke yearningly
Into the lilt of a remembered song:

"I must go down to the seas again, to the lonely sea
and the sky,
And all I ask is a tall ship and a star to steer her by,
And the wheel's kick and the wind's song and the white
sail's shaking,
And a grey mist on the sea's face and a grey dawn
breaking.

"I must go down to the seas again, for the call of the
running tide
Is a wild call and a clear call that may not be denied;
And all I ask is a windy day with the white clouds
flying,
And the flung spray and the blown spume, and the sea-
gulls flying."

His voice sank into silence, but his eyes
Still shone with the keen spirit of desire,
When blundering, I questioned him again,
"How like you London town?" There was a pause,
The light died out, a shadow crossed his face,

"Wretchedly fare the most there, and merrily fare the
few."

"London has been my prison, but my books,
Ships and deep friendships,"

"These are all my joys—"

Again his face was bright. "Who are your friends?"

I asked in turn, seeking to draw him on.

"Know you not," then he answered in mild surprise,

"That the friends whom chiefly I sing are the humble of
of earth,

"The men of the tattered battalion which fights till it
dies?"

As he spoke I thought of mine own musings

Over a wounded deer in Arden by a brook.

"Here," I said, "is a fellow after my heart,"

But perversely I hummed the refrain,

"Blow, blow, thou winter wind,

Thou art not so unkind .

As man's ingratitude.

Heigh-ho! sing heigh-ho! unto the green holly;

Most friendship is feigning, most loving mere folly!"

And he was quick to take me up in answer,

"The West Wind's mine!"

Then he was off again in lilting song:

"It's a warm wind, the west wind, full of birds' cries;

I never hear the west wind but tears are in my eyes.

For it comes from the west lands, the old brown hills,

And April's in the west wind, and daffodils.' "

"Ah, friend," quoth I, "you love your England well,

And sing of her with a melodious joy.

Small wonder that they crowned you with the crown

Of laureate poet, as inheritor

Of that bright wreath which first decked Chaucer's brow

And passed in turn to Spenser and sturdy Ben—"

But here a peevish thought escaped my brain

And found an utterance thru my unruly tongue—

"Yet strange it was that they should so have slighted

In that bright age, the Master of them all,

My Master, Shakspeare, leaving him thus uncrowned."

Jan Masefield looked at me in swift return,

And all his face was shining with the glow
Of ardent worship of the Master's name:

"Ah, he is Beauty and Light and Poetry!
He is unique, the one, the unrivalled Star!
Why should they seek his glory to confine
Within the limits of an island fame
By crowning him as voice of England only?
Shakspeare, the singer of the heart of man,
Is laureate poet of the listening world!"

I slipped away rebuked, left him in ecstasy,
And came to bring his tribute to you here.
*724 Baltimore Ave.,
San Antonio, Texas*

ROMANCE IN A REFERENCE BOOK

By CLAIRE MCGLINCHEE

SHAKSPERE wrote with a golden pen that was put into his hand by the gods, and it was with a gift of golden pens that the American "Enthusiast" first expressed to Mary Cowden Clarke his admiration for her great achievement in preparing the *Shakespeare Concordance*.

Not often does a girl of sixteen undertake a task so stupendous as did Mary Clarke after wandering in the garden of Charles and Mary Lamb while on a visit to their home. The work was to take sixteen years of her life. The last line of it was completed on her mother's birthday, August 17th, 1841.

The "Enthusiast," a Mr. Robert Balmanno, of Brooklyn, New York, wrote to Douglas Jerrold, the playwright, to ask him to secure one of the slips used in preparing the Concordance. In this appeal, Mr. Balmanno jokingly added that he would send two ounces of California gold in payment. The gold was sent in the form of pens. Mrs. Clarke describes them as follows, in one of her *Letters to an Enthusiast*: the letter of acknowledgment:

An elegantly ornamented card box, containing a smaller one of crimson velvet, in which were six gold pens; a holder of ivory and silver; another of tortoise-shell and silver; the whole enveloped in a mat of dove-coloured cloth and rose-coloured satin. Really, the enumeration of all these elegancies is like a sentence from the Arabian Nights describing a gift presented by some prince to a princess, at least; while the distance they have travelled seems to endue them with as wondrous properties as any of the marvels therein mentioned, a steam voyage across the Atlantic between January 2nd and February 7th seeming almost as miraculous as a trip on the magic square of carpet or a flight in Aladdin's Palace. Accept my warm thanks for bestowing such a beautiful gift upon myself, while your kindness is enhanced by having enabled me to share it with my husband, who desires me to add his acknowledgments to mine. He has selected the tortoise-shell pen, while I have the ivory one.¹

After this initial gift, the "Enthusiast" got a number of American admirers of Mrs. Clarke to send her a large,

rosewood armchair with an adjustable bookstand attached to one arm. In the group were such illustrious persons as Daniel Webster, William Cullen Bryant, Richard Grant White, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Charlotte Cushman, and S. Austin Allibone. Thus began a correspondence of eleven years' duration. Much of Mrs. Clarke's side of this interesting correspondence has been preserved for us in Anne Upton Nettleton's ably edited volume already mentioned. Many of the letters were sealed with the author's Shakspeare ring,—a profile seal given to her by her brother to celebrate the completion of the *Concordance*.

The following note from Douglas Jerrold shows his interest in her great achievement:

December 5th, West Lodge, Putney Common.

My dear Mrs. Clarke,—I congratulate you and the world on the completion of your monumental work. May it make for you a huge bed of mixed laurels and bank-notes.

On your first arrival in Paradise you must expect a kiss from Shakspeare,—even though your husband should *happen* to be there.

That you and he, however, may long make for yourselves a Paradise here, is the sincere wish of — Yours truly,

Douglas Jerrold.²

Thus, Mary Cowden Clarke, the industrious compiler of one of the important Shaksperian reference books, made and kept a host of delightful friends among the illustrious writers and musicians of her day and among them those who, like the American "Enthusiast," live now for their interest in her.

Douglas Jerrold's wish of "a Paradise here" for the Clarkes was richly granted, for there is not lovelier romance in the annals of English letters than that of Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke.

Hunter College, New York

¹Mary Cowden Clarke, *Letters To an Enthusiast*, edited by Anne Upton Nettleton. Chicago, A. C. McClung & Co., 1902. page 15.

²Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke, *Recollection of Writers*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. n.d. page 287.

ON READING JOHN FORD

By JOHN WILCOX

THE chief plays of John Ford have fascinated critics and scholars since the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, inspiring reactions almost unmatched in violence and variety. Readers of today, however, are inclined to take him in stride and wonder what all the excitement was about. M. Joan Sargeaunt in her "life-and-works" study of Ford implies that the tendency to disparage him for his dubious morality reached its lowest point in the "puritanical upbraidings of the American critics of the first decade of the present century."¹ Without wasting any thought on nationalistic pride, which ought to be beneath contempt in a scholarly discussion, this paper endeavors to retrace briefly the attitudes of Ford's British readers throughout the Victorian era and to show how docile the Americans of this century were in accepting the verdicts of their "betters." For, after all, the reaction of British critics to Ford is just one more aspect of the attitude that made *shocking* a priceless loan-word into the language of the supercilious continentals.

Let us first glance at Ford himself. His early writings show us a youth familiar with the amatory dogmas that cling to the phrases, courtly love, sonnet conventions, arcadian romance, platonic love. Before D'Urfée wrote *Astrée* and before the Parisian Hôtel de Rambouillet made *preciosité* a fashionable name for a complicated fad, Ford had openly espoused the heterodox causes for which these terms are symbols. Twenty years later, when the court of Charles and Henrietta was interesting itself in novel love doctrines, Ford was writing plays. Into three of them he poured the results of his brooding on the conflicts between romantic love and established law, a brooding peculiar in its sympathy for the lovers and yet, strictly speaking, devoid of any clear attempt to propagandize against law.

Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* had just appeared and Ford devoured this work avidly. Its psychology became Ford's psychology, and its gloomy view of the

human scene blended with a romantic fatalism to give Ford an essential pessimism about the helpless suffering of hapless lovers.² Ford contemplates his characters with pity, never once calling on Reform or Hope, unless the labored Burtonian cure of *The Lover's Melancholy* may be called hopeful.

Three times Ford wrote tragedies about star-crossed lovers, but their inauspicious stars are not those casual circumstances that drive Romeo to Mantua. Ford's great lovers collide fatefully with accepted codes of married love. They all meet their doom with vigorous assertions of the purity, the sanctity, the inevitableness of their emotions. They are like Tess of the D'Urbervilles, pure and faithfully presented; but unlike Tess they are vocal about their own purity,—all this two hundred fifty years before Hardy.

Briefly let us refresh our memories of these three plays. In *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, Giovanni and Annabella, son and daughter of a substantial citizen of Parma, have an irresistible, incestuous attraction for each other. They defend their own amorous rhapsodies with eloquent references to purity and sacredness. When, after nine mad, ecstatic months, the vengeance of Annabella's husband impends, Giovanni lovingly stabs his sister-mistress saying,

Since we must part,
Go thou, white in thy soul, to fill a throne
Of innocence and sanctity in Heaven.³

Then he kills her husband and himself falls in the ensuing brawl with banditti. These events occur against a background of Renaissance Italian intrigue and bloody violence, but only the incestuous lovers are heterodox in sexual morals, and the play closes with a cardinal saying,

but never yet
Incest and murder have so strangely met.
Of one so young, so rich in nature's store,
Who could not say, 'TIS PITY SHE'S A WHORE?⁴

Compared to *'Tis Pity*, *The Broken Heart* is conventional. Penthea, however, has been given in marriage to Bassanes by her brother Ithocles, although the latter is

fully aware that she and Orgilus are plighted lovers. The legally correct marriage is made more repulsive by the insane jealousy of the husband Bassanes. Unlike Annabella, Penthea will not violate her honor and her legal obligation, although she feels that her marriage is a defiling rape. "The virgin-dowry which my birth bestowed," said she to Orgilus at one of their two interviews after the marriage, "is ravished by another."⁵ She tells her brother that she is "a faith-breaker," and explains that

she that's wife to Orgilus, and lives
In known adultery with Bassanes
Is at the best a whore.⁶

Thus Ford bases a tragedy on obedience to the legal system that brings complete destruction to its victims.

In *Love's Sacrifice* a different issue arises. Bianca has been glad to better herself by marriage to the elderly Duke of Pavia. She has resisted casual assaults upon her virtue to which her youthful beauty has subjected her, but she finally falls madly in love with Fernando, the Duke's handsome young favorite. Although they declare their mutual passion, they renounce its consummation in one of the most striking scenes of dramatic literature. They pay their duties to the Duke by restraining themselves from the actual sexual embrace, no matter how vocally they yearn. Up to the bloody end they talk much of Bianca's chastity, innocence, and freedom from lust. After their destruction, the Duke stabs himself, he says, "in revenge of wrongs to her."⁷

With these brief reminders of the moral heresies in the love doctrine of John Ford, we pass on to the reactions of the readers of the plays. I say "readers" advisedly, for with trifling exceptions, he has not been staged since 1700.⁸

No one was much interested in Ford before Lamb. Langbaine had listed his plays in 1691, remarking that Annabella's incestuous love is "painted in too beautiful colors" and noting Burton's influence on *The Lover's Melancholy*.⁹ In 1800, Charles Dibdin had read *'Tis Pity* in Dodsley;¹⁰ he reinforced Langbaine's remark with the specific dictum that "it is not the province of a dramatic

writer to seek for monsters or to record prodigies; it is his duty to reproduce such vices as are commonly known."¹¹ Then in 1808 Lamb initiated the modern consideration of Ford. In his famous *Specimens of the English Dramatic Poets*, he quoted a few pages from Ford's major plays and commented on their power with great discrimination, despite the brevity of his notes, most of which are reprinted on one page in The Mermaid Edition of Ford. From these often-quoted lines it will suffice here to recall such phrases as these:

"He [*i. e.*, Ford] sought for sublimity . . . where she has full residence in the heart of man; in the actions and sufferings of the greatest minds. There is grandeur of the soul above the mountains, seas, and elements . . . [Ford] discovers something of a right line even in obliquity, and an improbable greatness in the lowest disidents and degradations of our nature."¹²

Following Lamb's liberal praise, John Ford began to be read, and widely, if the activities of the publishers constitute a measure.¹³ Seven collected editions in little more than eighty years constitute powerful testimony of the capacity of English and American readers of the Nineteenth Century to devour privately what they deplored officially and publicly, a conflict of attraction and repulsion that a pre-Freudian critic was hardly prepared to deal with.

Ten years after Lamb, William Hazlitt expressed regret that he could not write of Ford *con amore* and then assailed the opinions of Lamb with emphasis and vigor. He declares that the repulsiveness of the story of *'Tis Pity* is the source of its interest and feels that Ford is "tampering with unfair subjects" as Shakspeare would never do. Ford's chief power is that of "playing with edged tools, and knowing the use of poisoned weapons." The close to *The Broken Heart* is analyzed into sheer affectation, and Lamb's praise is specifically laid aside.¹⁴

In the opposition of these two judgments the poles of critical reaction are established for a century to come. Lamb, it may now be seen, finds in Ford genuine literary virtues, the ability to invest an imaginary scene with creative vigor, to match the strangest emotional situations with

the strongest and most appropriate expression. Lamb is far ahead of his time in aesthetic single-mindedness. Unable to brush aside the issue of morals, Hazlitt aligns himself with Dibdin in demanding a safe content. A Freudian might say that he felt a compulsion to hide his distrust of the moral code under positive reaffirmations of its inviolability. Admitted sinners are normal and acceptable; they do not question the standard by which they are adjudged sinners. There can be no examination of the conventional premises for such critics.

In the introduction and notes to his edition, William Gifford joined Hazlitt's party and helped establish the official Victorian view. Few opportunities to censure Ford escape Gifford's moral sense. Readers of three successive printings are told how to interpret Ford in such remarks as "the poetry is in truth too seductive for the subject, and flings a soft and soothing light over what in its natural state would glare with salutary and repulsive horror."¹⁵ Hartley Coleridge declares *'Tis Pity and Love's Sacrifice* "horrible stories," and insists that Ford

"...delighted in the sensation of intellectual power, he found himself strong in the imagination of crime and agony; his moral sense was gratified by indignation at the dark possibilities of sin, by compassion for rare extremes of suffering... His genius was a telescope, ill-adapted for neighboring objects, but powerful enough to bring within the sphere of vision what nature has wisely placed at an unsociable distance."¹⁶

In one form or another this became the official Victorian view.

No important voice was raised in England to second Lamb's position until 1871 when Swinburne wrote an extended article in the *Fortnightly Review* praising Ford wholeheartedly. In a very characteristic fashion, which can be only poorly represented here, Swinburne maintained that Ford's name is "one of the loftiest landmarks of English poetry."¹⁷ Boldly seizing the nettle of the moral test, he remarks of *'Tis Pity*, which he deems the author's very best play, "It is somewhat unfortunate that the very title of Ford's masterpiece should sound so strangely in the ears of a generation 'whose ears are the chastest part about them'."¹⁸ In assaying Ford for his peculiar genius, Swinburne observes that

"In Ford's best work we are usually conscious of a studious arrangement of emotion and expression, a steady inductive process of feeling as of thought, answering to the orderly measure of the verse."¹⁹

To this one needs to join his earlier remark,

"For nothing is more noticeable in this poet than the passionless reason and equable tone of style with which in his greatest works he treats of the deepest and most fiery passions, the quiet eye with which he searches out the darkest issues of emotion, the quiet hand with which he notes them down."

Swinburne makes his renunciation of "puritan upbraidings" explicit when he turns with a moral bias of his own, from praise of *'Tis Pity* and the *Broken Heart* to an examination of the basic situation of *Love's Sacrifice*, which he declares "utterly indecent, unseemly and unfit for handling." Revolting from the whole conception which he says is "essentially foul because it is essentially false," he declares, "The incestuous indulgence of Giovanni and Annabella is not improper for tragic treatment; the obscene abstinence of Fernando and Bianca is wholly improper."²⁰ In this Swinburne is one with Gifford, who had observed of Bianca, that "she is, in fact, a gross and profligate adulteress, and her ridiculous reservations, while they mark her lubricity, only enhance her shame."²¹

Tainted as he was with every kind of suspicion from the "rightminded" Victorians, Swinburne's support did not visibly improve Ford's reputation during the next forty years. The position of moral revulsion received solid, scholarly expression in the chief literary history of the day. In his monumental description of English drama,²² A. W. Ward was hardly puritanical in his taste, judging by the standards of his day, but he did not hesitate to apply the moral test and to support the conventional code. He evades describing the action of *'Tis Pity*; in declaring that the author's sole motive was to produce a strong sensation, he does not mention that the subject is incest. "The deadly impression this tragedy seeks to leave is that the force of passion is irresistible; but the mind revolts against the fatalism which . . . the sum-total of the action implies." Ward speaks of *Love's Sacrifice* as a "fascinating but dangerous play." But he concedes a possibility of "psycholog-

ical truth in this harrowing picture." "The dramatist has ventured," he asserts, "to balance the question of her guilt or innocence upon a line unknown to moral law."²³

In summing up his view of Ford in 1875, Ward says,

"The strength of Ford lies in the intensity with which his imagination enables him to reproduce situations of the most harrowing kind, and to reveal by sudden touches the depths of passion, sorrow, and despair which may lie hidden in a human heart. That he at times creates these effects by conceptions unutterably shocking to our sense of the authority of fundamental moral laws, rather betrays an inherent weakness in his inventive power than adds to our admiration of it . . . There is none of our dramatists who has so powerfully contributed to unsettle the true conceptions of the basis of tragedy . . . The dramatic power of Ford is therefore incomplete in its total effect . . . It excites; it perturbs; it astonishes; it entrances; but it fails to purify, and by purifying to elevate and strengthen. Let those who may esteem these cavils pedantic . . ."²⁴

A dozen years after Ward, George Saintsbury devoted a substantial amount of space to Ford.²⁵ Though he qualified the term, he seems to have been the first to attach the word *decadent* to the author, using the term in discussing the form of blank verse prevalent in Ford's day.²⁶ While he did not completely deny Ford dramatic or poetic merit, he was cautious in his praise, and the general effect on readers of the time was almost certainly on the side, substantially, of disapproval.

While Saintsbury was writing this history, Havelock Ellis (later to become notorious and eventually famous for his advanced position on the subject of love and the need of candor in the study of sex) edited Ford's principal plays. Ellis describes Ford as a poet in picturing the "burden of a passionate and heavy heart." Ellis does not feel Swinburne's revulsion at *Love's Sacrifice*, for he finds that into this play

"Ford has put his subtlest work, marred though it is by the feeble and foolish sentiment of the conclusion. The story of the youth who falls in love with his friend's wife, and when he has aroused in her stronger nature a passion far deeper than his own, shrinks back realising his falsehood, is true to nature and wrought with Ford's finest art and insight."²⁷

In the revision of his work at the end of the century, A. W. Ward becomes more explicit in his condemnation. In his opening statement he seems to have diverted Saintsbury's idea of decadence into a dramatic influence and makes the contradictory assertion that Ford "manifestly influenced" the progress of later Elizabethan drama while helping to hasten its decay. He rewrites his ideas on Ford to an extent that is unusual in the edition, adding a long note defending his position on *'Tis Pity*, which he now openly admits deals with incest.²⁸

Despite Lamb, Swinburne, and Ellis, it had become standard opinion by the end of the century to praise Ford for his poetic power and condemn him for his moral obliquity, to find, as Ward puts it, "In his nature, finely endowed as it was, there must have been something unsound." Saintsbury's epithet *decadent* was handy, and it soon was used to describe Ford's morals, his philosophy of life, his dramatic structure, and even his total inadequacy in comic bits. Critics talked of shock, of fatalism, of immutable moral law, of love casuistry, of moral anarchy, of repulsive horrors, and of mentioning the unmentionable. At the same time some sort of concession was equally standard. "The suppressed horror . . . lights up the hollows of the human spirit," wrote Sir Edmund Gosse, "in a way that is matchless for subtlety and intensity."²⁹

Now it happened that several important American scholars had occasion to express themselves about Ford in the first decade of this century, as Miss Sargeaunt alluded to. They did not invent the "puritanical upbraidings" with which their discussions are filled; they merely vied with each other in ringing in permutations and combinations of the familiar and unexceptionable ideas. Felix Schelling, Ashley Thorndike, William Allan Neilson, and Stuart P. Sherman all missed the golden opportunity to refute the dicta of their British colleagues, Ward, Gosse, and Saintsbury, and stuck to a safe straddling of the issues.

This safety of playing both sides is fully exemplified in the writings of Stuart P. Sherman, easily the most sensitive scholar to focus for long on Ford, sensitive at once to aesthetic values and to Victorian moral sensibilities as he heard them restated by Irving Babbitt. Ford was a de-

cadent; Ford made a serious application of romantic ideals to real life; Ford had a fatalistic attitude toward passion; Ford was in romantic revolt against the conventions of society. "The shock of the ideal and the real gave him dramatic life . . . and carried him inevitably into the creation of the problem play as the expression of his views of life."³⁰

Americans are not alone in this. Emile Legouis has re-expressed the consensus in his turn. Of course, it is easy now, in a different literary climate, to find fault with earlier workers because they did not dare to see or did not dare to say what they saw unless it fitted into the accepted scheme of social conventions and moral values. Miss Sargeant's book, easily the best work yet to appear on Ford, calmly and properly ignores the traditional clichés, except when she reviews the history of his reputation.³¹

In conclusion, I might mark, more or less to one side, that if this essay were a prolegomena it would stress several issues yet to be straightened in the minds of men. First, what do men mean by saying Ford was a decadent? Saintsbury found him decadent in poetic power; Sherman says he was decadent because of "his sickening exclusive absorption in the relation of the sexes." Yet this very interest Havelock Ellis used as evidence of Ford's modernness, which M. Joan Sargeant quoted with approval and George Sensabaugh then wrote a book to demonstrate. Ford's bibliographer, Dr. Samuel Tannenbaum, calls Ford "one of the most potent factors in the decay of that [*i. e.* Caroline] drama." Yet Alfred Harbaugh says that Ford and Shirley "were not immediately influential." Has the term *decadent* outlived its usefulness in reference to Ford? Second, romantic and unrealistic though he doubtless was, Ford has a place near Milton as a Seventeenth Century defender of human freedom in domestic life. The legal atmosphere in which Ford's plays grew is the atmosphere of Milton's divorce tracts. Can their relationship be shown? And third, Ford has a place in a long history of ideas about love, a history that extends from Plato, Andreas Capellanus, and Robert Burton to William Godwin, Havelock Ellis, and Sigmund Freud. Perhaps it can be clarified.

But, in last analysis, Ford's plays will live, as all literature must live, not for their intellectual content, not for their voicing of human feeling, not for their vivid expression, but for their living, breathing combination of all three. That, after all, is about what all literary art exists for.

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¹John Ford (1935), p. 184.

²The old straw of Burtonian influence has been diligently reffailed by G. F. Sensabaugh and S. Blaine Ewing during the last dozen years.

³*The Best Plays of John Ford*, ed. by Havelock Ellis (1887), p. 175.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 228.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁸See Sargeant, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-175, for stage history.

⁹*An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (1691), p. 21.

¹⁰Before the appearance of Weber's edition, *The Dramatic Works of John Ford*, (London: 1811), Ford's plays were not accessible to the average person. The original quartos dated mostly in the sixteen-thirties, were not given a second printing in that century. In 1714 a political situation brought the reprinting of *Perkin Warbeck*. Robert Dodsley printed only 'Tis Pity She's a Whore in his *Select Collection of Old English Plays* (London: 1780).

¹¹Charles Dibdin, *A Complete History of the Stage* (1800), III, 279.

¹²*Specimens of the English Dramatic Poets* (1957), II, 29.

¹³Weber's edition of 1811 was followed in 1827 by Gifford's. In 1831 there was an American issue of Weber. In 1840 Hartley Coleridge issued a one-volume, fine-reprint Ford combined with Massinger. A German translation appeared in 1860. In 1869 Dyce reedited Gifford's version, which received a third issue under A. H. Bullen in 1895. Meanwhile Havelock Ellis offered the five best plays in the still conveniently accessible volume in the Mermaid Series. In fact the supply was so copious that (aside from anthologies of the drama, Bang's scholarly texts at Louvain, and Stuart P. Sherman's two plays printed for classroom use) surviving copies of Nineteenth Century editions have met the needs of readers for the last half-century.

¹⁴*Lectures on the Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* (1870), pp. 131-143.

¹⁵Introduction in the Dyce-Gifford, p. xxxi.

¹⁶*The Dramatic Works of Massinger and Ford* (1839), p. lviii.

¹⁷"John Ford," *The Fortnightly Review*, July 1871, pp. 42-63. This essay reappeared in *Essays and Reviews*, 1875. It is found in the Bonchurch Edition, XII, 371-406; citations are to this edition.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, XII, 373.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, XII, 374.

²⁰*Ibid.*, XII, 382.

²¹Gifford-Dyce, *Works of John Ford*, I, xxxi.

²²*English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne*.

²³*Ibid.*, II, 298-302.

²⁴*Ibid.*, II, 307-08.

²⁵*A History of Elizabethan Literature* (1887), pp. 402-09.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 391 and pp. 394-5.

²⁷*The Best Plays of John Ford* (1887), p. xii.

²⁸*English Dramatic Literature* (rev. ed., 1899), III, 71-89.

²⁹Written 1903 for *Chambers Cyclopaedia of English Literature*.

³⁰See Sherman's introduction to *John Fordes Dramatische Werke*, ed. by W. Bang (*Materialien zur Kunde des Aelteren Englischen Dramas*, Louvain, 1908), Vol. VII.

³¹This is no place to discuss the work of S. Blaine Ewing and G. A. Sensabaugh.

SHAKSPERE CROSSES THE RHINE

By COMMANDER J. BENNETT NOLAN

ALREADY my sojourn in Germany fades into the realm of fantasy. The piles of rubble on the sites of cities which I had known so well in happier days, our shivering jeep rides over the shattered autobahns, (it seems always to have been cold and rainy in those first fateful weeks of occupation), the countless groups of woe-begone refugees—all these form a pattern of composite desolation. And yet the retrospect is not entirely calamitous. Rising out from the general scheme of misery are certain points of cheer and human interest—the shock-haired children who begged our “K” rations, the yellow gorse flaming in a landscape which even the ravages of pitiless war could not entirely alter, the delicate vernal foliage in the vineyards by the Neckar.

Of these more blitheful recollections the most salient is that of the evening in the half-ruined Garrison Theatre at Hamburg when the great Laurence Olivier and his historic Old Vic Company came to entertain the British Occupation Army with his incomparable rendition of *Richard III.*

I thought that summer evening as I walked along the Alster that I had never seen the old Hanseatic town more beautiful. The sky-line, to be sure, was broken and tortured but the destruction here in the business district was not so great as by the docks. Some of the larger hotels are almost intact and are used for Military Administration. A group of kilted Scottish officers filed out from the building which had formerly housed that world renowned hostelry the Atlantische Hof. I noted over the door the name of the former proprietor, the great hotelier Pfordte, the genial hunch-back who was wont to lose at the race-track all the profits he made at his hotel. He is long dead and I wondered that evening how many of the athletic young lieutenants who passed under the sign had ever heard of Pfordte or his race horses.

Usually at this hour in the long July twilight the Alster had been filled with canoes and sailboats. Now these were banned for the civil populace; the disconsolate *fräuleins*, whose swains were behind barbed wire in the prison camp, sat gloomily watching two adventurous sergeants evidently making their first essay in the art of navigation.

It was not difficult to find the Garrison Theatre. It had been miraculously spared and stood up defiantly amidst the ruin of the surrounding buildings. Before its door was a queue of officers from every branch of the service, engineers and sappers, Coldstream Guardsmen, and the King's Royal Rifles, even some sailors from the mine-sweepers in the Elbe. The great Platz before the theatre was jammed with army vehicles, jeeps, weapons carriers and trucks. Some groups had motored from Hanover, one hundred and fifty kilometers away, to attend the performance.

Those of us who had been far-sighted enough to procure blue tickets passed into the auditorium. The less prudent sweated in the queue and waited for the melee which would ensue when the doors opened for general admission. As I entered I noted that the proscenium boxes were decorated with the Union Jack and already occupied. To the right sat a Brigadier and his staff. In the left box was an Admiral whom I had last seen at League Island Navy Yard—the one American officer besides myself to be observed in the crowded house.

A ludicrous effect is produced in these occupation audiences by the inevitable rifle-barrels protruding up back of all the seats. A severe penalty is meted out to anyone of the armed services who goes about in hostile territory without arms. The pistols of the officers are unwieldly enough but the rifles of infantry-men are simply impossible. These lean heavily up against your elbow and occasionally poke you between the shoulder blades conjuring up apprehensions as to what might happen if the safety clasps were not securely set.

Although the play was being rendered in conquered Germany, it had the settings of Picadilly. Perhaps this

would have been true had the performance been given in Bombay or Capetown. We tipped the ushers for our diminutive programs. We went out for refreshments or drank the tea which was passed along the aisles at the intermissions. The chatter about me was all attuned to a British pattern, the season in Scotland, the chance of the favorite at Goodwood, the approaching tennis tournament at Wimbledon. Involuntarily I strained my ears to catch the roar of the Strand through the half-open doors; only there was no sound of traffic in the city of Hamburg.

As the third act rolled its course we felt that the Old Vic was surpassing itself; never had classic lines been rendered with more feeling and intensity. Olivier as Richard, Ralph Richardson as Richmond, Margaret Leighton as the Queen were at their best. Then came the gripping climax. A tense stillness pervaded the hall as Richmond proclaimed:

"God and our Cause fight upon our side."

Those in the martial audience who had fought for six years in the great crusade and had followed the bloody trail which led from Alamein to Berlin nodded approvingly at the aptness of this allusion. They evinced further appreciation as stout Richmond went on to describe his adversary:

"A bloody tyrant and a homicide,
One raised in blood and one in blood established,
One that made means to come by what he hath
And slaughtered those that were the means to help him.
One that has ever been God's enemy."

This was prescience indeed, rhetorical prophecy ringing down the ages from the days of Drake, the descriptive cadence of the Sixteenth Century attuned to the glorious fulfillment of the present hour. An emotional thrill ran through the theatre and encompassed the inspired actor. Warming to his theme he advanced to the footlights:

"Then if you fight against God's enemy

God will in justice ward you as his soldiers;
If you do sweat to put a tyrant down
You sleep in peace, the tyrant being slain:
If you do fight against your Country'e foes,
Your Country's foes shall pay your pains the hire;
If you do fight in safe-guard of your wives,
Your wives shall welcome home the conquerors;
If you do free your children from the sword,
Your children's children quit it in your age."

The performance went on to its end and the curtain fell to rise for many calls. The Brigadier clutching at the railing of his box, voiced a tribute to the players. Olivier made graceful response. Then we dutifully sang GOD SAVE THE KING: there was shuffle of hob-nailed boots and a metallic clang as rifles were pulled from between the seats.

Outside the Platz was still lighted in the ruddy glow of the dancing Borealis lights. The American Admiral and his gold be-tasseled aide were climbing into their jeep. Said the Admiral in reflective mood, "He knew his stuff, that Shakspeare." "And how, Sire!" assented the aide.

Reading, Pa.

NID FIELD WAS WHOSE SCHOLAR?

By WILLIAM PEERY

IT is generally held that, like Brome, Nathan¹ Field, author of the sprightly antithetical comedies, *Woman Is a Weathercock* and *Amends for Ladies*,² is a follower of Ben Jonson. Ashley H. Thorndike, for example, states that Field "employed Jonson's methods and wrote plays in his manner."³

A study of Field's plays, however, reveals that such statements, which occur frequently, are a good deal less critical than they should be. They seem to be based not so much on Field's work itself as on a tradition to the effect that Field learned the art of playwriting at the feet of the master, Ben. This view is seriously presented by all who have written on the subject. Field's biographer, Miss Brinkley, writes:

Ben Jonson stands foremost among the individual dramatists who influenced Field. Field belonged to that small group closely knit to Jonson by the affectionate relationship of "son." Anyone who had read Latin with Jonson, had seen him write his plays, and had helped to put them on the stage could not have failed to be partly molded by that dominating personality.⁴

Miss Mina Kerr, who has treated Jonson's influence in this period most fully, states that Field and Brome "gained the advantage of being personally instructed by him [Jonson] in the art of making plays, of learning their craft under his immediate supervision."⁵ According to Miss Kerr, "During the hours of study and of rehearsal, he [Field] had abundant opportunity to learn the playwright's craft from Jonson himself."⁶ His comedies, moreover, are said to "do credit to the instruction that Field had received" and to show an "intelligent grasp of the fundamental ideas of Jonsonian comedy."⁷

Miss Kerr does not state her authority for the notion that Jonson instructed Field in playwriting, but one suspects that she may have been influenced in it by statements of Felix E. Schelling. Schelling wrote: "Field was taught his craft as playwright by Jonson himself."⁸ Again, "under

the tutelage of Jonson he became a playwright of merit."⁹ And, later, "Field was literally Jonson's scholar in the drama."¹⁰ This view was held also by Ronald Bayne, who termed Field and Brome "two men who came personally under Jonson's tuition and have a special right to be entitled his 'sons.'" Bayne places Field's plays in "the main stream of Jacobean dramatic work, in which the influence of Jonson, both personal and by his art, is all-pervasive."¹² In *Woman Is a Weathercock*, Bayne states, Jonson "is obviously the master most consciously copied."¹³

That scholars have written in such terms of Jonson's instructing Field in playwriting is not hard to understand when one remembers that Jonson is traditionally said to have been Field's special friend. Miss Kerr, for example, writes: "Evidently Jonson pitied the boy so early snatched away from his books, and gave him lessons."¹⁴ "Even though only a child of thirteen years," Miss Brinkley writes, "he pored over his Latin during the time in which the other Chapel Children were probably playing. He was sufficiently earnest to attract the attention and aid of Ben Jonson."¹⁵ Again,

The relation between the young actors and their poets was a very friendly one. The gentler side of Jonson's nature is revealed when he takes time to help the boy Field with his lessons. . . . Jonson's friendship for Field was more than that of patron for protégé. In the Elizabethan period the difference of approximately a decade and a half in age made a very real barrier, but by his own merit Field was able to surmount this and become a contributor as well as receiver in the friendship between them.¹⁶

It is hardly necessary to state that in these remarks both Miss Kerr and Miss Brinkley are deducing too much from Jonson's well known comment to Drummond of Hawthornden, "Nid field was his Schollar & he had read to him the Satyres of Horace & some Epigrammes of Martiall."¹⁷ Yet the view that Jonson and Field were close personal friends rests upon little other evidence than this.

It is hard to know how much weight should be placed upon the evidence of Drummond. After "Schollar," "he" probably refers to Field, "him" to Jonson.¹⁸ The reading or readings referred to, however, may have been anything

from one informal meeting to a series of regularly scheduled recitations. Neither Jonson nor Drummond gives us any clue as to where between these extremes the instruction is to be placed. Evidence that adequate provision was made for the academic education of the Blackfriars children seems slight.¹⁹ Jonson's instruction of Field, moreover, is not dated. Miss Brinkley puts it in Field's early years at Blackfriars;²⁰ but to do so is arbitrary since it may have occurred at any other time between 1600, when Field was taken up for the Chapel, and 1619, when he died. Herford and Simpson think the passage may refer to a period "a little later"²¹ than does Miss Brinkley. It may well be limited in reference to the short time in 1605 when Jonson and Field, because of *Eastward Ho!*, perhaps were in prison together.²² Jonson's remarks to Drummond, moreover, often proceeding from spleen and a fondness for boasting, are always to be regarded with a degree of suspicion. The remark about Field certainly was not intended as a description of the young actor's formal education. In view of uncertainty as to the nature of the instruction to which it refers, as to when the instruction occurred and how long it lasted, and as to the tone in which the remark was offered, Drummond's evidence seems somewhat short of proof that Jonson was in any strict sense Field's teacher even of Latin.

The case for Jonson as a special friend of Field is no better supported. No contemporary evidence numbers Field among Jonson's "sons"; he is connected neither with the group at the Mermaid nor with the later Sons of Apollo. Biographical links between the two men are limited to their having been long associated with the same dramatic company, their reading together of Latin, their possible imprisonment together, Field's having acted prominent roles in a number of Jonson's plays, his having contributed commendatory verses to the 1607 quarto of *Volpone* and the 1611 quarto of *Catiline*, and Jonson's having paid tribute to Field's acting in *Bartholomew Fair* (V, 3:86-89). Field may, finally, have alluded to Jonson in his contribution to Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess*.

A playwright, however, may be very friendly with his leading actor or he may not. Field and Jonson's being imprisoned at the same time and for the same cause, if they were so imprisoned, does not necessarily argue even propinquity; certainly it does not prove deep friendship. An actor need not like, love, or revere the author of the plays he puts upon the stage. A contribution of commendatory verses in the seventeenth century is no proof of any great degree of intimacy or affection.²³ Field's poems to *Volpone* and *Catiline* add to our knowledge of Jonson-Field relations little beyond the information that Field regarded Jonson as a "most worthy Friend" whose art is above Field's praise. They are characterized by the hyperbole conventional in Elizabethan and Jacobean commendatory verse. To attempt to determine the profundity of Field's friendship for Jonson from them would be indeed dangerous.²⁴

If there is little evidence that Field and Jonson were intimate personal friends, there is even less that Jonson taught Field how to write plays. Had he done so, Field might reasonably be expected to have acknowledged this debt in the poems contributed to Jonson's plays. He did not do so. The influence of Jonson on Field—and it admittedly existed—will have to be measured and studied in the plays of the two. The texts themselves do not suggest the sort of instruction that has been claimed, and there is virtually no external evidence.

Perhaps more significant to the present discussion than Field's contributions to *Volpone* and *Catiline* are the verses he contributed to *The Faithful Shepherdess*.²⁵ They are important because in them Field first gives expression to his ambition to become a writer. To a modesty not inappropriate in commendatory verse may be put down his statement that his name was unknown in 1609-10. His muse was certainly unknown and "not yet growne to strength,"²⁶ though nothing in this poem precludes his having completed by that time his first play, *Woman Is a Weathercock*, which seems hardly likely to have resulted from the ambition to perfect "So sweete and profitable"²⁷ a work as that which

the poem commends. The most interesting revelation of the poem, however, is Field's acknowledgement that he has been receiving grave philosophical instruction from an impressive mind.

Opinion, that great foole, makes fooles of all,
And (once) I feard her till I met a minde
Whose grave instructions philosophicall,
Toss'd it like dust upon a March strong winde;
He shall forever my example be,
And his embraced doctrine grow in me.²⁸

I take it the reference is not to Fletcher. Herford and Simpson state that it is to Jonson,²⁹ and this identification may be the correct one. Jonson was, it is true, a fellow well-wisher with Field to *The Faithful Shepherdess*. So, however, was George Chapman. Grave, philosophical instruction could have been had from Chapman³⁰ as from Jonson. Only the phrase "embraced doctrine" seems to fit Jonson much more readily than Chapman, but Field does not specify "literary doctrine," and the context, indeed, suggests that Field intends to imitate the example of one who stands fearless of popular censure or approval.³¹ This could be Chapman. It will be remembered that Chapman, not Jonson, contributed the only commendatory verse included in the quarto of *Woman Is a Weathercock*,³² when Field needed a send-off as a writer. At the time of writing his comedies, Field probably had acted in ten of Chapman's plays.³³ Field had probably known Chapman as long as he had known Jonson, that is, virtually from the beginning of his career with the Chapel children. If he was imprisoned over *Eastward Ho!*, it may have been with Chapman as well as with Jonson. Field may have suffered imprisonment also from the production of one of Chapman's *Byron* plays.³⁴ In view of these facts, one should not identify the "minde" of Field's poem without considering the case for Chapman as well as that for Jonson. More thorough study of Field's comedies may well show their author to have been Chapman's as much as Jonson's "scholar" in the art of playwriting.

A review of the external evidence of Jonson's influence on Field permits the following conclusions. Jonson and Field doubtless read Latin together as Drummond wit-

nesses, but we do not know the extent to which Jonson contributed to Field's knowledge of Latin.³⁵ The testimony of Drummond has been expanded and romantically embellished in the tradition that Jonson and Field were especially close personal friends, a tradition which is inadequately supported by evidence. The pleasant story took on unfortunate proportions when scholars, influenced by the tradition of the Jonson-Field friendship, expanded Field's curriculum under Jonson to include the art of playwriting. It appears to have colored highly all existing descriptions of Jonson's influence on Field. Field's debt to Jonson—indeed, his debt to a number of his playwriting contemporaries, particularly Shakspeare, Chapman, and him whom Jonson called "but a base fellow,"³⁸ Middleton—stands in need of careful appraisal based primarily upon the internal evidence.

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¹Though scholars should be able, after the contribution of R. Florence Brinkley [*Nathan Field, the Actor-Playwright* (New Haven, 1928)] to avoid further confusion of Nathan with Nathaniel Field, the old error continues to be made. Cf. D. J. McGinn, *Shakespeare's Influence on the Drama of His Age Studied in Hamlet* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1938), pp. 108, 160, 167, 236; Henry W. Wells, *Elizabethan and Jacobean Playwrights* (New York, 1939), p. 288—confusion of the date of Nathan's death only; *Work in Progress in the Modern Humanities*, 1941, pp. 35, 160; 1942, pp. 66, 2816 and F. W. Bateson, ed., *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (New York, 1941), IV, 90. Even E. K. Chambers, who helped lay this ghost, once has slipped and called Nathan Nathaniel—*The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), II, 460.

²Edited by A. Wilson Verity in *Nero and Other Plays* (London and New York, 1888). My references are to this edition.

³*English Comedy* (New York, 1929), p. 190.

⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁵*Influence of Ben Jonson on English Comedy* (Philadelphia, 1912), p. 52.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁸*Elizabethan Drama* (Boston, 1908), I, 519.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 473.

¹⁰*English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare* (New York, 1910, p. 231).

¹¹*CHEL*, VI, 237.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 250.

¹⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁵*Op. cit.*, pp. 15f.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁷*Conversations*; C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, edd., *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925—), I, 137.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 160, n. 164.

¹⁹It rests chiefly on the undeveloped statement of Frederick Gerschow, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, n. s., VI (1892), 27, and on our knowledge that production schedules would have allowed some time for schooling. See Harold N. Hillebrand, *The Child Actors* (Urbana, Ill., 1926), p. 186.

²⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 22.

²¹*Op. cit.*, I, 26.

²²Chambers, *op. cit.*, III, 254; Brinkley, *op. cit.*, p. 26. If Chambers is correct in the view that the publication rather than the performance of *Eastward Ho!* caused the trouble [*op. cit.*, II, 51 and n. 2; III, 255] perhaps Field was not imprisoned. Hillebrand says that the affair "seems not to have affected seriously the company itself"—*op. cit.*, p. 194.

²³Miss Kerr, *op. cit.*, p. 53, and Miss Brinkley, *op. cit.*, p. 22, fail to allow for the extravagance and conventionality of eulogy in the period.

²⁴Bibliographical evidence connected with Field's poem in *Volpone*, however, may reveal something of Jonson's attitude toward Field. Simpson cogently argues that Jonson requested Field to contribute to the volume and stopped its press run to make room for the poem in the final copies—see "Field and Ben Jonson," *N & Q*, 8th Series, VIII (1895), 301. Simpson, too, however, seems to be warming to the story when he speaks of Jonson's having "sought the tribute of the young actor who loved him." Later he amended "loved" to "revered"—*Ben Jonson*, V, 6.

²⁵A. Glover and A. R. Waller, edd., *The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher* (Cambridge, 1905-1912), II, 591.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹*Op. cit.*, V, 6. They are manifestly wrong in saying that the allusion has passed unnoticed. Cf. Miss Brinkley, "it is Jonson, I think, to whom Field refers as the one that shall be his master"—*op. cit.*, p. 72.

³⁰For the general esteem in which Chapman was held by younger and older contemporaries, see A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature* (2d ed. London, 1899), II, 413f. Ward speaks of Chapman's dignity of character and quotes Wood as to his reverend, religious, and temperate qualities.

³¹If literary doctrine be meant, Chapman, too, of course held critical views.

³²P. 339.

³³He having been a leading actor in the company which produced *The Gentleman Usher*, *May Day*, *Sir Giles Goosecap*, *All Fools*, *Bussy D'Ambois*, *Monsieur D'Olive*, *The Widow's Tears*, I and II *Charles Duke of Byron*, and *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*.

³⁴Brinkley, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³⁵Though in his plays Field quotes aptly from Juvenal's First Satire and from Ovid's *Amores* [pp. 339, 478] he seems to have had the amused and amusing contempt of some actors for some scholars. He appears to be proud that he is able to end his epistle "To Any Woman That Hath Been No Weathercock" "without a Latin sentence"—p. 338. Bowing to the taste of readers for Latin prefaces, Field quotes Juvenal and adds: "Thou must needs have some other language than thy mother-tongue, for thou think'st it impossible for one to write a play, that did not use a word of Latin, though he had enough in him"—p. 339. The final clause may not be mere boasting from the former pupil of Mulcaster's St. Paul's—see Brinkley, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

³⁶*Ben Jonson*, I, 137.

HENRY IV, PARTS I AND II, AND SPEGHT'S
FIRST EDITION OF GEFFREY CHAUCER

By THOMAS H. MCNEAL

HENRY IV, *Parts I and 2*, have as their setting the period in English history that marks the closing days of Geoffrey Chaucer's life and the years immediately following his death. The time similarity, plus certain echoes from Chaucer's works in *Part I*, and the names *Gower* and *Skogan*, men close to the poet who appear in *Part 2*, have led to reasonable but nevertheless vague explanations by various editors of the plays. Here I shall attempt to make clearer Shakspeare's sources for and use of the Chaucer material that is evident; and this in the light of a passage from *2 Henry IV*, which may be an as yet unnoted borrowing by Shakspeare from Thomas Speght's "Life" that appears in *The Workes of our Antient and Learned Poet, Geffrey Chavcer*, dated 1598.

Stow gives a list of the editions of Chaucer's collected works available to Shakspeare in his *The Survey of London*:

"His works were partly published in print by William Caxton, in the reign of Henry VI, increased by William Thinne, esquire, in the reign of Henry VIII; corrected and twice increased, through mine own painful labours, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to wit, in the year 1561; and again beautified with notes by me, collected out of divers records and monuments, which I delivered to my loving friend Th. Speght, and he having drawn the same into good form and method, as also explained the old and obscure words, &c., hath published them in anno 1597."¹

F. J. Furnivall verifies this account, and lists the editions of individual pieces: they end in 1526.² From such information it appears that Shakspeare, before the publication of Speght's *Workes*, read Chaucer in very old books indeed—that he must have gone back at least to the edition of 1561.

As for Chaucer's life, he probably had very little knowledge of it at all until the biography in Speght's book made it accessible to him—save of course for bits of information that may have been gleaned from the poet's works, from

gossip and hearsay drifting about literary London, or from the "records and monuments" observed by Stow, as stated above, which would include such a thing as Chaucer's tomb in Westminster Abbey, with its date 1400. For no editions of Chaucer contained a biography before Speght's Englished version. In fact, there were in print only two very short and inadequate lives, both in Latin, and both by John Bale: one in his *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum—Summarium*, 1548; the other in his *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Britanniae—Catalogus*, 1557-1559.³ We may assume that a new edition after so many years, containing a life and notes in plain English,—full of such familiar names, too, as King Henry IV, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, the Duke of Clarence, John Hastings Earl of Pembroke — must have interested Shakspeare, busy at the moment recreating for the stage the very times presented.

Chaucerian allusion is evident in *1 Henry IV*. But the echoes present certainly go back earlier than Speght, for his *Chaucer*, "often referred to as 1598, was published, as Todd says, in January, February, or March of 1597-1598."⁴ The composition of *1 Henry IV* falls, it is generally agreed, within the years 1596-1597.⁵ It is well to say, too, that there are no borrowings from Chaucer, as far as I can see, in any of the admitted sources of the play: Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*; *The Famous Victories of Henry V*; and the Fourth Book of Daniel's *History of the Civil Wars*. Shakspeare must have gone elsewhere.

Bits from *1 Henry IV* that might be thought of as deriving from Chaucer follow:

1. Henry speaks of the Holy Land:

Over whose acres walk'd those bless'd feet
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nail'd
For our advantage on the bitter cross.

(I, i, 25-27)⁶

The year 1400 may merely set the period of the play; but it was well known in Elizabethan times as that of Chaucer's death.

2. Some of the victims in prospect for the robbery, that serves as a plot for much of the comedy, are described as "pilgrims going to Canterbury." (I, ii, 140)

3. The Chamberlain names a definite victim: "...there's a franklin in the wild of Kent hath brought three hundred marks with him in gold." (II, i, 59-61)

Dericke, in the *Famous Victories*, says: "I am sure we gentlemen in Kent scan't go so well." His remark and the Chamberlain's appear at a similar point in the progress of the common comic plot. Shakspeare prefers *franklin* to *gentlemen*.

4. Falstaff: "How now, Dame Partlet the hen!" (III, iii, 60)

The above quotations show how vague and general the Chaucerian reference is, yet that it is nevertheless present.

It is my contention that after the completion of *1 Henry IV* and during the composition of *2 Henry IV*, Shakspeare read and was influenced by Speght's *Chaucer*. The time element helps this theory out: for the composition date of *2 Henry IV* is well agreed upon,—Tucker Brooke places it at 1598; Fleay, Alden, and Adams at 1597-1598.⁸ These years fit exactly with the January, February, or March, 1597-1598 publication date of the *Chaucer*. The appearance of the names, Gower and Skogan, not in *1 Henry IV* but present in *2 Henry IV*, further calls for an investigation; and a passage from *2 Henry IV* that seems to lean toward Speght's life of Chaucer—the well remembered conversation between Justice Shallow and Silence—helps, I believe, to make it worth while:

Shal. By yea and nay, sir, I dare say my cousin William is become a good scholar: he is at Oxford still, is he not?

Sil. Indeed, sir, to my cost.

Shal. A' must, then, to the inns o' court shortly. I was once of Clement's Inn, where I think they will talk of mad Shallow yet.

Sil. You were called "lusty Shallow" then, cousin.

Shal. By the mass, I was called any thing; and I would have

done any thing indeed too, and roundly, too. There was I, and little John Doit of Staffordshire, and black George Barnes, and Francis Pickbone, and Will Squele, a Cotswold man; you had not four such swinge-bucklers in all the inns o' court again; and I may say to you, we knew where the bona-robas were and had the best of them all at commandment. Then was Jack Falstaff, now Sir John, a boy, a page to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

Sil. This Sir John, cousin, that comes hither anon about soldiers?

Shal. The same Sir John, the very same. I see him break Skogan's head at the court-gate, when a' was a crack not thus high: and the very same day did I fight with one Sampson Stockfish, a fruiterer, behind Gray's Inn. Jesu, Jesu, the mad days that I have spent! and to see how many of my old acquaintance are dead!

Sil. We shall all follow, cousin.

Shal. Certain, 'tis certain; very sure, very sure: death, as the Psalmist saith, is certain to all; all shall die. How a good yoke of bullocks at Stamford fair?

Sil. By my troth, I was not there.

Shal. Death is certain. Is old Double of your town living yet?

Sil. Dead, sir.

Shal. Jesu, Jesu, dead! a' drew a good bow; and dead! a' shot a fine shoot: John a Gaunt loved him well.⁹

The portion of Speght's Life that bears a certain similarity in background and incident to this conversation between Shallow and Silence deals with Chaucer's education and marriage:

His bringing up, as *Leland* saith, was in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, as also of Cambridge, as appeareth by his owne wordes in his booke entituled *The Court of Loue*: and in Oxford by all likelihood in Canterburie or in Merton College, with *John Wickelife*, whose opinions in religion he much affected: where besides his priuate studie, hee did with great diligence frequent the publique schooles and disputations. . . . Hereupon, saith *Leland*, he became a wittie Logician, a sweete Rhetorician, a pleasant Poet, a graue Philosopher, and a holy Divine. Moreover he was a skilfull mathematician, instructed therein by Iohn Some & Nicholas Lynne friers Carmelites of Linne, and men verie skilfull in the Mathematikes, whome he in his booke called *The Astrolabe*, doth greatly commend, and calleth them Reuerend clerkes.

By his trauaile also in Fraunce and Flaunders, where hee spent much time in his young yeeres, but more in the latter end of the reigne of K. Richard the second, he attained to great perfection in all kind of learning. . . . About the latter end of King Richard the seconds daies he flourished in Fraunce, and got himselfe great commendation there by his diligent exercise in learning. After his return home, he frequented the Court at London, and

the Colledges of the Lawyers, which there interpret the lawes of the lande, and among them he had a familiar frend called Iohn Gower. This Gower in his booke which is entituled *Confessio Amantis*, termeth Chaucer a worthie Poet, and maketh him as it were, the Iudge of his workes.

It seemeth that both these learned men were of the inner Temple: for not many yeeres since, Master Buckley did see a Record in the same house, where *Geoffrey Chaucer* was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscane fryer in Fleetstreete. . . .

He matched in marriage with a Knights daughter . . . But howsoever it was, by this marriage he became brother in law to Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, as hereafter appeareth.¹⁰

A comparison of the passages is interesting on several counts:

1. Both Shallow and Chaucer are Oxford men, and both were at the inns of court, colleges in London for the study of law. The most important are Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, and the Inner and Middle Temple. Clement's Inn, Shallow's college, was attached to the Inner Temple,¹¹ where studied Chaucer and Gower.

2. One incident in Shallow's and Chaucer's university days is surprisingly similar: Shallow fought "with one Sampson Stockfish, a fruiterer, behind Gray's Inn"; Chaucer "was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscane fryer in Fleetstreete."

3. Falstaff broke "Skogan's head at the court-gate." Two poems relative to Skogan are to be found in the works of the Speght edition of 1597-1598: "Scogan unto the Lords," eighth from the end of the book, and "Lenuoy," fifth from the end.¹² The appearance of the name *Skogan* in the comic plot of *2 Henry IV* has not, as I see it, been given clear explanation. According to S. B. Hemingway, "Shakespeare probably took the name from a jest book published in 1565, called *Scogan's Jests*. It is possible, however, that the reference is to Chaucer's friend, described by Ben Jonson in *The Fortunate Isles* as a fine gentleman, and master of arts, of Henry the Fourth's time."¹³ L. Winstanley says: "Shakespeare probably means Henry Scogan, who was a court poet of Henry IV and a friend of Chau-

cer's; the latter addressed a poem to him entitled 'Lenvoy de Chaucer a Scogan.' There is also another Scogan, Court Jester to Edward IV, author of a popular book of jests. Shakspeare seems to have confused the two, for the incident recorded is more worthy of the jester than the poet."¹⁴ (The last sentence is pure irony if Chaucer's fight with the frier is believed.)

I believe that Shakspeare took the name *Skogan* from the poems relating to the man at the back of Speght's *Chaucer*—that we may now drop the court jester to Edward IV for good and all.

4. Gower is a shadowy character in *2 Henry IV*. He makes an entrance only once, in Act II, Scene 1. His four brief speeches reveal nothing of his character, and tell us only that he is a man close to the court. L. Winstanley thinks that he "is probably intended for the poet, the author of the *Confessio Amantis* and the friend of Chaucer."¹⁵ Speght's *Life* bears her out, for John Gower is placed there as a resident with Chaucer at the Inner Temple—to which, I may repeat, Justice Shallow's Clement's Inn is attached. Among the minor poems, too, at the end of the work, is "John Gower unto the Worthy and Noble King Henry the Fourth," twelfth from the last, and four titles from "Scogan unto the Lords." It seems reasonable that Shakspeare found these names here, and used them for color and authenticity in his play.

5. That John of Gaunt is in both passages proves nothing; but it is a strange coincidence that his name appears in each case only a dozen or so lines from the incident of the fight in London.

This study suggests that Shakspeare realized early Chaucer's connection with the people of the period in which he labored; for though echoes from the poet in Part I are slight, they are evident. Speght's edition of 1597-1598 came too late to influence Part I, composed in 1596-1597; but just in time for Part II, written in 1597-1598. For in *2 Henry IV* are what look like borrowings from Speght's *life of Chaucer*; and along with these are two

names, *Gower* and *Skogan*, the first appearing in the Life and in the title of a poem twelfth from the end of the collected pieces, the second represented in two poems, eighth and fifth from the end. In the use of this possible source material, Shakspeare does not pretend to give historical accuracy—rather he has fictionized actual incident, as he has often fictionized and built up history borrowed from Holinshed in the same play. The incident of student days is employed rather to achieve verisimilitude in the character of Shallow. The men *Gower* and *Skogan* are mere shadows, the first very slightly drawn, the last completely undeveloped. Shakspeare may likewise have chosen them to create historical reality, out of a work recently read and of exceptional interest to him—not only because it contains the writings of the greatest English poet next to himself, but because Speght's introduction relates of characters and events out of a period that he himself is bringing to life in a play. The perfect tallying of the time elements of the two plays with Speght's *Chaucer* makes possible these conclusions.

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¹E. P. Hammond, *Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual*. Peter Smith, N. Y., 1933, p. 124.

²*Francis Thynne's Animadversions*, The Chaucer Society, London, 1875, p. 70, n. 2.

³Hammond, pp. 8-13.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵F. W. Moorman and M. P. Tilley, eds., *The First Part of Henry the Fourth*, (Arden Edition), D. C. Heath and Co., 1917, Introduction, p. viii.

⁶*Ibid.* References that follow are made to this edition.

⁷J. Q. Adams, ed., *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*, Houghton Mifflin Co., N.Y., 1924, p. 669, 11.181-2.

⁸Tucker Broke, *Shakespeare of Stratford*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1926, p. 120.

⁹L. Winstanley, ed., *The Second Part of Henry the Fourth*, (Arden Edition), D. C. Heath and Co., N.Y., 1918, III, ii, 10-50.

¹⁰Hammond, pp. 21, 22.

¹¹T. Brooke, J. W. Cunliffe, H. N. MacCracken, *Shakespeare's Principal Plays*, D. Appleton-Century Co., N.Y., 1935, p. 327, n. 14.

¹²J. C. Wells records that Chaucer "was buried in Westminster Abbey. In his survey, Stow says his tomb is in the cloister near the body of his friend, Henry Scogan." *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1926, p. 617.

¹³*The Second Part of Henry IV*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1921, p. 133.

¹⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 147, n. 33.

¹⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 137, n. 145.

NOTICES

Now that the gangsters and the cut-throats who rule the world are enjoying an enforced holiday, giving the racketeers the long-awaited opportunity, the most helpless and least vocal part of mankind—the scholarly humanists—are returning to what are called “civilized” pursuits. One of the noteworthy signs of this return is the publication, under the direction of Professor Orsini of the University of Florence, of a neatly printed and attractive looking periodical called “Anglica” which is to be devoted to English and American studies. The journal, each number consisting of 48 pages, will be published bimonthly at 70 lira per issue (400 lira by the year), and will include essays, reviews, poems, etc., in Italian as well as in foreign languages. Associated with Professor Orsini in the publication are Professor Sergio Baldi and Mr. R. Anzilotti.

The first number, bearing the date “February 1946,” is of special interest to Shakspeare students the world over because of Professor Orsini’s introductory essay, “La critica shakespeareana,” covering pages 6 to 17, a survey of conspicuous (not necessarily important) contributions to Shakspeare literature of the 20th century. James R. Lowell is the subject of a short essay with liberal quotations (12

stanzas) from “The Courtin” (pages 27-32) and copious explanatory footnotes. Cyril Connolly’s *Horizon* is reviewed (pp 38-41) by Professor Orsini. A thoroughly modernistic—and, to us, inartistic—poem, “Stanzas of the great unrest” by Peter Viereck, take up pages 18 to 20.

We hope for fine things from the new publication and wish it every success. May it help to bring the English and Italian-speaking peoples into closer spiritual harmony and to a better understanding of one another.

An English book which is sure to find a place on the shelves of every library specializing in Elizabethan literature is *An Introduction to Stuart Drama* by Professor Frederick S. Boas. The book, consisting of 452 pages, is published by the Oxford University Press for \$4. In it Professor Boas, an old and accomplished devotee of the Elizabethan drama, aims to bring together the fruits of the labors of English and American scholars during the recent past. Teachers and readers will undoubtedly find it a useful guide and, we hope, an incentive to reading the works of the authors discussed in the volume.

S. A. T.

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July, 1946

Vol. XXI, No. 3

The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



Brave New World As Shakspeare Criticism

A Preface to *Othello*

Modern Stage-Directions in Shakspeare

Dickens' Knowledge of Shakspeare

The Portrayal of Woman in the Comedies
of Nathan Field

Editorial Comment

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BRAVE NEW WORLD AS SHAKSPERE CRITICISM

By ROBERT H. WILSON

ALDOUS HUXLEY's *Brave New World*¹ is primarily a social satire. As pointed out by reviewers and critics, the year of Our Ford 632 described in the novel—with its centralization, mechanization, and high level of consumption; with human ova fertilized and grown in the laboratory, and infertile sexual promiscuity a social duty—is much less a genuine vision of the future than a caricature of social patterns and tendencies already present in the modern world.

Yet philosophical and literary implications have also been noted. The well-adjusted contentment of the Fordian era comes at the cost not only of ideals of romantic love, but as explained by Controller Mustapha Mond, of every other ideal of nobility and heroism which involves either physical suffering or internal conflict and inhibition. And hence our traditional literature, particularly tragedy and most particularly Shakspeare, would be rejected as meaningless even if it were not banned as subversive.

For emphasis, this particular issue of literary valuation, like the broader ones of spiritual and social values, is symbolized in the novel by the appearance in civilized London of John, the "Savage," who in growing up on an Indian reservation has happened to possess a one-volume Shakspeare, has been influenced by it in his ideas about sex, and quotes from it.²

The treatment of Shakspeare, however, has occupied critics only briefly, and has never been made the subject of a separate study.

What is first observed when one looks closely at this aspect of the novel is the extent and variety of the Shaksperian references and quotations.³ Not only is the title a quotation from *The Tempest*, but the ironic appositeness of Miranda's words to John's discovery of outside civiliza-

tion is brought out in three passages. In addition to the long, frequently-referred-to debate between the Savage and Mond, in Chapters XVI and XVII, on the values of Fordian civilization (and the "feelies") as compared with the traditional values represented in Shakspeare, there is in Chapter XII an almost equally interesting presentation of the reactions of Helmholtz Watson, himself a poet or "emotional engineer," when John reads Shakspeare to him. Other Shaksperian quotations and references are spread through the novel, in eleven of its eighteen chapters.

The Tempest can be considered the play most frequently referred to, but only by counting each separate "brave new world" repetition, and likewise the false reference to Ariel as putting "a girdle round the earth in forty minutes."⁴ Counting only once each passage quoted or alluded to (with or without correct indication of source), but counting separately each other reference or chain of references to a title or character, one finds Huxley making eight uses of *The Tempest*, the same number as of *Othello*, two fewer than of *Hamlet*. There are six uses of *Macbeth* and of *Romeo and Juliet*, five of *Lear* and of *Troilus and Cressida*, two of *The Merchant of Venice*, one each of *Antony and Cleopatra* (the same line quoted in two widely separated passages), *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Timon*, *Twelfth Night*, *Julius Caesar*, *As You Like It*, *King John*, and *Measure for Measure*.

"The Phoenix and the Turtle" also provides a series of quotations in the Savage-Watson scene, and there are five references to Shakspeare in general. Occasionally, too, John's language has the archaic tone which one might expect from his saturation with Elizabethan English.⁵

Of the references and quotations, one—in addition to the title—is by Huxley in his own person, when he includes *Lear* in the list of monuments whisked away by Mustapha Mond's wave of the hand dismissing history as bunk. A few are by Mond, who, in fact, has the works of Shakspeare in a safe in his office along with the Bible and other forbidden books. The great majority are in the mouth or mind of the Savage, and range from his seizing upon a conve-

nient word ("caskets," "horror, horror, horror") or a meaningful expression ("told by an idiot," "Goats and monkeys!") to passages several lines in length.

Some quotations are read out of the Savage's mouse-eaten volume, others reproduced from memory with an occasional alteration or error. Some, printed as verse or provided with a source citation or both, stand out to a reader as quotations, and usually indicate that the speaker has Shakspeare in his conscious mind—as do the independent references to a character, a play, or Shakspeare himself. Other quotations merge insensibly with the surrounding text, and many of these would seem to have become the unconscious vehicles of the Savage's own thought. This is very likely to be true where a quotation of some length involves omissions and insertions, or where several quoted passages, from the same or different plays, blend through connections of subject matter or wording.

All this embodiment of Shaksperian material in the novel need not, of course, be critical in purpose. Some of it, in fact, seems to have only the artistic aim of making a grotesque contrast between the old and the new, with Shakspeare as a conveniently quotable one-volume author representing the old. But explicit, conscious criticism is easily observable, and its presence justifies a search for implicit valuations as well.

One explicit point, the tying up of tragic values in Shakspeare with a world of conflict and instability, has been generally recognized, since it is made in the Savage-Mond debate. Another point, to which Huxley can be seen to have devoted almost as much attention, if one gathers up the scattered references, is that Shakspeare's predominant claim to greatness is in his style, his word magic.

Thus, upon John's first reading the Shakspeare brought by his mother's Indian lover, and seeing Hamlet's position as similar to his own:

The strange words rolled through his mind; rumbled, like talking thunder; like the drums at the summer dances, if the drums could

have spoken; like the men singing the Corn Song . . . somehow it was as though he had never really hated Popé before; never really hated him because he had never been able to say how much he hated him. But now he had these words, these words like drums and singing and magic.⁶

As Helmholtz Watson listens to John's reading in Chapter XII, he is particularly affected by the "Phoenix and the Turtle" phrases "sole Arabian tree," "thou shrieking harbinger," "every fowl of tyrant wing," and "defunctive music." *Romeo and Juliet*, with its non-Fordian attitudes toward sex, parents, and disposal of the dead, arouses in him amusement which mounts to uncontrolled laughter, yet all the time he appreciates the "poetry," the "really good, penetrating, X-rayish phrases." "Taken detail by verbal detail, what a superb piece of emotional engineering!"

When in Chapter XIII Lenina tries to seduce John, and one sensuous Shaksperian passage comes to his mind, "the singing, thundering, magical words made her seem doubly dangerous, doubly alluring." Lenina, too, "knew words that sang and were spells and beat drums," though her quotation of a popular song does not affect John, and he finds much Shakspeare to help him condemn her as a strumpet while he paces the floor "marching to the drums and music of magical words."

From John's meditation on death in the final chapter, in the midst of a series of quotations, come "A convincing thunder rumbled through the words" and "Thunder again; words that proclaimed themselves true—truer somehow than truth itself." Conversely, Huxley presents it as supreme evidence of the ineffability of John's mystical experience of awareness of God that in spite of his wanting to speak of it "there were no words. Not even in Shakspeare."⁷

With this background of explicit literary theory, it is not surprising that the novel contains so many quotations supposedly from memory, and that there are many more quotations without indication of their source or dramatic situation than there are references to Shaksperian ideas or situations unaccompanied by quotations.

In the category of implicit judgments, one should first consider Huxley's exemplification of what has been called the universality of Shakspeare. In one sense, this means wideness of appeal. The Savage, whose only previous literary experience has been with his mother's Fordian nursery rhymes and laboratory manual; Helmholtz Watson as a professional propaganda technician; Mustapha Mond, a physicist turned government official because his research was considered subversive, and acquainted with the literature of both past and present—all these are supposed to have easily resognized Shakspeare's greatness.

In a second sense, what is meant is the variety of human situations and institutions with which Shakspeare deals. John is able to find Shaksperian parallels for his mother's disgrace and for his own suffering of race prejudice "for my complexion."⁸ He learns both the most worshipful romantic love and the most violent disgust at sex. He is helped in forming ideas of "Time and Death and God,"⁹ of an absolute value that "dwells not in particular will,"¹⁰ of what a doctor means in referring to narcosis as giving a subjective eternity out of time.¹¹ He also has at hand such odd pieces of information as the nature of a cardinal and the definition of a philosopher as "a man who dreams of fewer things than there are in heaven and earth,"¹² or the fact that it is appropriate to address a crowd by saying "Lend me your ears."¹³

Huxley might almost seem to be demonstrating that the works of Shakspeare constitute a useful encyclopedia and manual of quotations for every occasion, as well as covering a range of ideas and activities beyond that of almost any novelist. Yet at the same time, he is careful to point out that Shakspeare is universal only in terms of a traditional social and intellectual pattern in which he has closer contacts with primitive man than with the Fordian world (or even much of the actual twentieth century). Thus, John attempts to explain to Lenina: "In Malpais people get married. . . . They make a promise to live together for always. . . . It's like that in Shakspeare too."¹⁴ And later "Science? The Savage frowned. He knew the

word. But what it exactly signified he could not say. Shakspeare and the old men of the pueblo had never mentioned science."¹⁵

Consideration of this point brings one to a deeper level of implication, perhaps not entirely conscious with Huxley himself, underlying the remarks about Shakspeare's having no place in the Fordian world. For if the Fordian world is already with us in many of the more modernistic aspects of modern life, then the disappearance of meaningfulness in Shakspeare has begun.

That there has been, in fact, a loss of significance, in the sense of meanings which are deeply stirring or seem seriously applicable to our own lives, it would be hard to deny, though the extent of loss will vary with the "modernity" of individuals. Whereas one reader may react fully to the original significances of *King Lear*, another—although impressed by its treatment of the problem of evil—will consider the dictum that it is the greatest Shaksperian tragedy to have been outmoded along with the Victorian heavy father.

Accordingly, when Helmholtz Watson feels an amused incomprehension of Juliet's emotional dependence upon her parents, Huxley is only presenting in him an exaggeration of this same twentieth century attitude toward family relationships. Many modern readers will likewise share Mustapha Mond's refusal to be impressed by the idea of providential intervention cited by John from the solution of *Lear*. And it has not taken the arrival of complete promiscuity, but only of a reasonably matter-of-fact attitude toward sex, to bring appreciable sympathy for the Fordian side of the one contrast brought out most extensively in the novel—between a modernistic world and the Savage's Shaksperian idealization of servile romantic devotion and horror at unchastity.

If, then, Huxley judges Shakspeare as being, in large fields of thought, unmodern, is the judgment unfavorable to him and his conceptions, or to us and ours? Decision is made difficult by a tendency so natural that there are signs

of it in many of the reviews: to assume that because the Fordian world is satirized, therefore Shaksperian tragedy is held up as an ideal point of reference.

The most definite evidence that this is unlikely to be the case may be found in Huxley's other writings, both before and after *Brave New World*. Thus a specific criticism of Shakspeare, very similar to Watson's, is made by the sympathetic character Chelifer in *Those Barren Leaves*:

Old Shakespeare . . . How many critical brains have been deceived by the quickness of *his* tongue! Because he can say . . . "defunctive music" and "the expense of spirit in a waste of shame" and all the rest of it, we credit him with a philosophy, a moral purpose and the most penetrating psychology. Whereas his thoughts are incredibly confused, his only purpose is to entertain and he has created only three characters.¹⁶

Likewise, not Shakspeare himself to be sure, but the complex of disgusted ideas about sex reflected in *Othello*, is described in "The Moor" as the product of "good St. Jerome's filthy tongue."¹⁷

In a broader sort of criticism, the partially disapproving contrast in "Tragedy and the Whole Truth"¹⁸ is indicated by the title; and the sympathetic Mr. Propter in *After Many a Summer* intensifies the attack in an argument which, although its mystical ideal of happiness is the opposite of Mustapha Mond's materialistic one, otherwise resembles it closely:

And that . . . was another of the enormous defects of so-called good literature . . . It helped to perpetuate misery by explicitly or implicitly approving the thoughts and feelings and practices which could not fail to result in misery. And this approval was bestowed in the most magnificent and persuasive language. So that even when a tragedy ended badly the reader was hypnotized by the eloquence of the piece into imagining that it was all somehow noble and worth while . . . No, a good satire was much more deeply truthful and of course much more profitable than a good tragedy.¹⁹

Even the discussion in Huxley's own person, in *Those Barren Leaves*, of the possibility that a happy future

society may have no room for literature, since it is based on misery, ends on the uncertain note, "Perhaps it will be all for the best."²⁰

With this external evidence as a guide to one's examination of implicit meanings, he notes that John's Shaksperianisms, of thought as well as language, often make him ridiculous. Mond's remarks in the debate of Chapters XVI and XVII, ranging from patient irony to powerful oratory, are allowed many qualities of convincingness. Both Watson in Chapter XII, and in Chapter XVI even John, prescribe for the world around them not Shakspeare himself, but something like him. And John's death, coming by his own hand and only after he has fallen away from his ideals, is not exalted.²¹

In the ironic contrast between the Fordian and pre-scientific world outlooks, neither fares well; and Huxley does not, as in his later novels, preach a way out of the choice of evils. As for Shakspeare, Huxley may be taken to imply that we can best profit from the plays if we view them esthetically and not, in John's fashion, as textbooks of thought and conduct.

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¹London, 1932.

²Comments summarized from "Bottle-World," *Times Literary Supplement*, February 4, 1932, p. 73; Bullett, Gerald, *Fortnightly Review*, CXXXVII (1932), 402-3; Chamberlain, John, *New York Times Book Review*, February 7, 1932, p. 5; Cushing, Edward, *Saturday Review of Literature*, VIII (1932), 521; Haldane, Charlotte, "Dr. Huxley and Mr. Arnold," *Nature*, CXXIX (1932), 597-98; Hazlitt, Henry, "What's Wrong with Utopia?" *Nation*, CXXXIV (1932), 204-6; Henderson, Alexander, *Aldous Huxley* (London, 1935), pp. 87-111; Houston, P. H., "The Salvation of Aldous Huxley," *American Review*, IV (1934), 209-32; Maynard, Theodore, "Aldous Huxley, Moralist," *Catholic World*, CXLIV (1936), 12-22; Petre, M. D., "Bolshevist Ideals and the 'Brave New World,'" *Hibbert Journal*, XXXI (1932), 61-71; Thompson, Alan Reynolds, Bookman, LXXIV (1932), 690-92.

³The quotations and references analyzed in the text are as follows. Starred quotations are those for which the novel supplies a correct reference to speaker, title, or author. Shakespeare lining is from the Oxford *Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. W. J. Craig (New York, n. d.).

Title: *Tempest*, V, i, 183.

Chap. III, p. 38: reference to *Lear*; p. 60: ref. to Shakspeare.

Chap. VII, pp. 135-36: *Macbeth*, V, i, 38; II, ii, 63; *Merchant of Venice*, II, i, 1.

Chap. VIII, pp. 154-57: *Hamlet*, III, iv, 91-94*; I, v, 108; II, ii, 617; III, iii, 89-90; p. 161: *Macbeth*, V, v, 19; pp. 164-65: *Tempest*, V, i, 181-84* (re-use).

Chap. IX, pp. 170-71: *Troilus*, I, i, 56-60; *Romeo and Juliet*, III, iii, 35-39; I, v, 97.

Chap. IX, p. 182: *Antony and Cleopatra*, I, iii, 35; p. 186: false ref. to Ariei; *MSND.*, II, i, 176-76; p. 188: *Tempest*, V, i, 183-84* (re-use); p. 192, ref. to Shakspeare; p. 194: *Merchant of Venice*, II, i, 23, and *passim*; p. 202: ref. to *Othello*.

Chap. XII, pp. 208-18: *Romeo and Juliet*, reference; I, v, 48-51; summary ending with quotation from III, v, 198-203*; "The Phoenix and the Turtle," II, 1-42*.

Chap. XIII, pp. 222-27: *Tempest*, III, i, 37-48, 1-3; IV, i, 15-17*, 25-28, 52-54; *Troilus*, III, ii, 169-70; *Macbeth*, II, iii, 70; *Timon*, IV, iii, 116-17; pp. 229-31: *Othello*, IV, ii, 80, 66-76; *Lear*, IV, ii, 155-34; *Troilus*, V, ii, 53-54; p. 232: *Twelfth Night*, I, v, 199.

Chap. XV, pp. 247-48: *Tempest*, V, i, 182-83* (re-use); p. 249: *Julius Caesar*, III, ii, 79; p. 251: *AYLL.*, II, vii, 144.

Chap. XVI, pp. 257-60: *Tempest*, III, ii, 149-50; ref. to Shakspeare; *Othello*, IV, i, 274*; series of references to *Othello*; ref. to *Romeo and Juliet*; *Macbeth*, V, v, 27; p. 265: ref. to Shakspeare.

Chap. XVII, pp. 271-73: references to Shakspeare and to *Othello*; *King John*, III, 1, 138*; *Hamlet*, I, v, 166-67; pp. 277-83: *Lear*, V, iii, 172-76*; *Troilus*, II, ii, 53-56; *Othello*, II, i, 188-89*; *Hamlet*, III, i, 57-60; IV, iv, 51-63; ref. to Desdemona and *Othello*.

Chap. XVIII, p. 287: ref. to Claudius; p. 297: *Othello*, IV, ii, 80, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, I, iii, 35 (both re-uses); pp. 299-300: *Macbeth*, V, v, 22-23; *Hamlet*, II, ii, 184; III, i, 65-66; *Lear*, IV, i, 36-37*; IV, vi, 222*; *Measure for Measure*, III, i, 17-19; p. 304: *Troilus*, V, ii, 55.

⁴Chap. XI, p. 186.

⁵The most pronounced instances are in John's first remarks on greeting the strangers from outside, Chap. VII, p. 135: "Hullo. Good-morrow," and a few sentences later, referring to an Indian boy who has been whipped, "A most unhappy gentleman." There are also scattered uses of "fitchew," "strumpet," "whore," and other words even less obviously archaic.

⁶Chap. VIII, p. 155-56.

⁷Chap. XVII, p. 271.

⁸Chap. VII, p. 136.

⁹Chap. VIII, p. 161.

¹⁰Chap. XVII, p. 278.

¹¹Chap. XI, p. 182, "Eternity was in our lips and eyes."

¹²Both items in Chap. XVII, pp. 272-73.

¹³Chap. XV, p. 249.

¹⁴Chap. XIII, p. 225.

¹⁵Chap. XVI, p. 265. (Shakspeare mentions science in at least four passages.

—Ed.)

¹⁶*Those Barren Leaves* (new impression, London, 1934), Part II, Chap. II, p. 99.

¹⁷*The Cicadas and Other Poems* (Garden City, N. Y., 1931), p. 29.

¹⁸*Music at Night and Other Essays* (New York, 1931), pp. 7-14; also printed separately, *Virginia Quarterly Review*, VII (1931), 176-85.

¹⁹Chap. XVI: *Harper's Magazine*, CLXXX (1940), 313. (American Book title, *After Many a Summer Dies the Swan*.)

²⁰*Those Barren Leaves*, Part I, Chap. VI, p. 57. The passage is quoted by Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 127, and by Houston, *op. cit.*, p. 229 (erroneously calling it a quotation from the character Cardan).

²¹On this last point see "Bottle-World."

A PREFACE TO *OTHELLO**

By R. W. BABCOCK

MR. Granville-Barker has produced another *Preface* to a play of Shakspeare—this time *Othello*—and, as Mr. Stoll has called this Englishman “A True Shakspeare Critic,”¹ his work should be carefully considered. The book is certainly valuable for its illumination of particular scenes and various aspects of the characters and for its historical interest in the source of the play and in the stage-business, especially with reference to the Elizabethan theater: this last point has always been Mr. Granville-Barker’s forte. It is less valuable for its occasional psychological circumlocutions, for its evasion of previous scholarship on the play, and for its textual animadversions. All in all, though, it is a worthy addition to modern Shaksperian criticism, though by no means as worthy as the critic’s Preface on *Hamlet*.

It is a small volume with no Index and only 5 chapters following the Preface: “The Story and the Play,” “The Shaping of the Play,” “Act and Scene Division,” “The Characters,” and “The Verse.” Chapters II and IV are by far the most important, and the book has two appended notes: “A: Othello’s Color” and “B: Othello’s Christianity.” It is all very easy to follow, with simple chronological development dominating both of the most important chapters, with no serious arguments arising anywhere, and with a style that is of course generally² graceful from beginning to end.

The Preface states the purpose clearly: “*Othello* is dominated by the problem of the falling of this man—not only of noble nature is he, but of ability too—an unresisting victim to such a charlatan as Iago . . . the tragedy, if it is to compel our interest, must be a tragedy of character . . . in no other that he wrote does the immediate operation of mind upon mind count for so much . . . The central episode . . . and the technical daring of the means used to make it

*Granville-Barker, Harley. *Prefaces to Shakespeare*. Fourth Series: *Othello*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1945. Pp. x + 224.

convincing, have no parallel. I have therefore given the fullest space to their study . . ." The book, then, will develop the psychology of the characters and Shakspeare's technical skill in handling them, especially in specific scenes.

The first chapter, "The Story and the Play," tells not only what changes Shakspeare made in Cinthio's story but also why he made them. For example, "Shakespeare prefers an elopement for his starting point, since this gives an initial impetus to the action" (p. 2). "The capital change, however, is that which converts the anonymous Moor into Othello, since with this it is that the whole brutal story is raised to the heighths of tragedy" (p. 6). Shakspeare adds, also, a conflict "of the essence of the men." And at the end Othello, not the Ensign, "is made . . . to do the deed himself" (p. 9). So the background is laid for a study of the development of the whole play.

This second chapter, "The Shaping of the Play," is the core of the book—covering 140 pages. It contains three parentheses for supplementary analysis and summary, but otherwise scene by scene, almost, the author analyzes and vivifies the action of the play from beginning to end. This procedure throws considerable light on the interconnection of scenes as well as on the meaning of the scenes themselves. After a very good discussion of Shakspeare's "freedom with time," the author notes how the move to Cyprus broke the continuity of action and how Shakspeare covered up the break. One of the best sections is the first parenthesis, called "The Ambiguity in Time" (pp. 30-8), which explains most clearly the technical use of double time in the play: "Shakespeare smooths incongruities away by letting the action follow the shorter, the 'hourly' calendar—from dawn and the aubade to midnight and the murder—without more comment than is necessary, while he takes the longer one for granted in a few incidental references" (pp. 35-6). By this time Mr. Granville-Barker has got ready for the famous 300 lines of Act III, Sc. 3, in which Othello moves from "Perdition catch my soul But I do love thee" to "I'll tear her all to pieces" and "Oh blood, blood, blood"

(c. line 440); and he is perfectly satisfied that his psychological exposition clears the case for Iago, and for Othello too, for that matter. "One way, and a swift one," he says, "to the corrupting of the mind is through a perverting of the imagination" (p. 41) and this is the main secret of Iago's success; to it is added merely "a trivial tale of a handkerchief" (p. 64). Incidentally the author prints the lines of this famous scene at the bottom of the page so that the reader can follow his commentary more readily. At the end "Iago has won what he set out to win and more" (p. 67); at the end of the next scene Desdemona—"selfless, high-minded, reasonable of heart" (p. 76)—has lost all. "Othello collapses babbling, *in a trance*, at Iago's feet" (p. 78) and the overhearing scene—"most puerile of tricks"—reduces Othello "to the very depth of indignity" (p. 82).

Here Mr. Granville-Barker introduces another "Parenthesis: The Use of Ludivico: The Action Advancing of its own Momentum" to explain the interconnection of subsequent scenes of the play, which he then takes up in detail. "With Ludivico's arrival the play enters a penultimate phase . . . of suspense, enriching of character, of full preparation for the long last scene" (p. 89). Two scenes, the "brothel scene" and "that of the 'Willow Song'" are "not necessary to the action at all" (p. 90), and Iago's "own undoing has begun." The "brothel scene" brings out Desdemona's "spontaneous candour" and the 'Willow-Song' scene evolves her "too absolute goodness" (p. 106). With the beginning of Act V "Iago Begins to Bungle" in disposing of Roderigo and Cassio, and the final scene "falls into three sections: the first filled by Desdemona's murder, the second by the discovery of Iago's guilt and the killing of Emilia, the third by Othello's orientation to his own end" (p. 115). Here Mr. Granville-Barker again resorts to printing the text at the bottom of the page. The Moor has now disintegrated into "a terrible, shameful spectacle" (p. 116), yet "From the wreck of the Othello that was emerges a man who is both the victim and the creature of the deed" (p. 123). The final "Parenthesis" explains that the dramatist must restore Othello "as much to himself, and to such a consciousness of himself, as will give significance to his

end, . . . without pursuing the action beyond appropriate bounds" (pp. 128-9). The author's style fairly flashes through his last section, the "Analysis of the Action, Concluded," and Emilia and Ludivico are given full credit for their part in it. One finishes this long second chapter with a distinct feeling that the author has persistently probed his way through the motives and actions and thrown vivid light on the whole action of the play.

The rest of the book is not quite so important, though chapter IV on "The Characters" shapes up well. On "Act and Scene Division" Mr. Granville-Barker is pretty indefinite, but each character in the play subsequently gets some detailed treatment. Iago is a "stupid fellow" with a "common mind," who is an artist and actor in deviltry for its own sake: at times he gets "a very revelation . . . sent direct from the Devil himself" (p. 163). He is beyond a theatrical type, but his hate "is cold . . . and motiveless" (pp. 167 and 172) . . . "he reminds us rather . . . of a hound on a trail, sensitive and alert, nose to the mud, searching and sampling, appetite and instinct combining to guide him past error after error to his quarry" (p. 172). Othello is free from jealousy (at the start), "he is black" (p. 178), "a quite exceptional man," "a dangerously defenceless . . . enraptured bridegroom" (p. 179), with "a quick and powerful imagination" (p. 180)—"the poet born" (p. 181). But the tragedy as a whole "is without meaning" (p. 175), for it falls "short of serving for the purgation of our souls . . ." (p. 1743. (One may not agree always with this analysis but at least it is stimulating.) Desdemona has already been touched upon above, but now Mr. Granville-Barker emphasizes her "explicit calm" and her "rare fervour" (p. 186). Her one "scared fib about the handkerchief" he discounts in favor of her "essential honesty" (p. 190). "Emilia is coarse clay" (p. 191), with a "closed mind," but "she gives her life in testimony of the dead Desdemona's innocence" (p. 197). Bianca is a "little hussy," but "shrewd and witty"—and "plucky." Brabantio "swings between extremes"; Cassio, "impulsive," is "caught between tragic extremes" (p. 201), yet "there is something

boyish about him, and appealing." Roderigo is "an incorrigible fool" (p. 206).

The last chapter points out Shakspeare's freedom from the trammels of rules of verse (as he was from Jonson's dramatic formulae) and adds up the three main "attributes of the maturer verse": "The enriched vocabulary, the bolder syntax, the unconfined rhythm" (p. 216). Mr. Granville-Barker spends some time on the characters' repetition of words, and on the "tone and rhythm" of the speeches, with Othello's dominating most of the rest in these qualities. The "opposing factor" to Othello in this scene is Iago, with his "forceful rhythm and lack of all melody" (p. 217). (This speech-rhythm point, incidentally, is a very interesting modern development, in Shaksperian criticism.) Iago is now "only a poisoned and poisonous ganglion of cravings after evil," concludes Mr. Granville-Barker.

In Note A Othello "is a black man." In Note B he is a Christian. So much for a summary of the book.

The above outline has been developed deliberately with reference always to the basic problems of and points of interest in the play, *Othello*: Iago's motives, Othello's predisposition to jealousy, the time scheme, Desdemona's intellect, Othello's color, etc., etc. On all these, as indicated above, Mr. Granville-Barker has stated his position unequivocally. We may not agree with him but at least we know where he stands. But the strange thing is that one of the best parts of the book—perhaps the best—has not been discussed yet at all—namely the footnotes. There are some 35 footnotes in the book that are of considerable importance. Those on textual problems are rather negligible (pp. 59n, 88n, 95n, 107n, 109n, 112n, 116n, 121n, etc.). For example, he says, rather plaintively on p. 211: "The episode of the apparitions and Jupiter's descent has, I know, been labelled spurious. But, in its main lines at least, it may, I think, be called Shakespeare's..." But once he points out a textual error (p. 112n), twice he declares for an actor's interpolation (pp. 59n and 121n), and once again he asserts there has been a cut in the text (p. 58). He makes no de-

tailed comparisons of Q + G readings,³ nor does he note the mixup of prose and verse now and then.⁴

But the important footnotes concern Mr. Granville-Barker's chief forte in Shaksperian criticism—his knowledge of the stage and stage business. Time and again in the footnotes—and also in the text at times—he points out how a scene should be acted, how Shakspeare used his special stage, etc. For instance, "For his soliloquy he will advance to the front of the main stage; Desdemona and the rest will go towards or into the inner stage, the pictorial effect being of a fully rounded statue placed before a bas-relief" (p. 19n). "And nothing can be plainer, by Elizabethan stagecraft, than the indication of a (this much interrupted) passage here from outer stage to inner, with Othello's passage across the outer stage . . . for a connecting link" (p. 32n).⁵ As for his accent on the actor's problems, note: "Actors of Iago are accustomed to put their foot for a moment, upon the prostrate body, even to give it a slight, contemptuous kick. This is wholly appropriate" (p. 79n) . . . "Othello shall enter with the light illuminating his face; and the steadiness with which he carries the (presumably) naked candle does something to emphasise the abnormal calm which gives dramatic distinction to his appearance" (p. 116n).⁶ This is all excellent historical criticism—the author's best type—and should be added to the study of the source, in Chapter I.

Twice, at least, Mr. Granville-Barker admits that Shakspeare may have made a slight error himself. Of the resurrection of Roderigo from the stabbing by Iago, he remarks: "But I suspect this to have been an afterthought on Shakespeare's part" (pp. 108-9); and of Desdemona's kneeling to Iago, "It may well seem that Shakespeare has here stretched a psychological point in his wish to complete the pattern of Iago's triumph . . ." (p. 188n). But this is as close as Mr. Granville-Barker gets to modern sceptical criticism—both times in footnotes, be it noted. (As a matter of fact, the author himself stretches psychology a bit on pp. 41, 161, and 166.)

On the negative side of the ledger, I suppose something might be said. The London *Times Literary Supplement* (June 8, 1946) was horrified that Mr. Granville-Barker had Othello collapse "babbling . . . at Iago's feet" (p. 178) but, for that matter, Othello "jabbered" on p. 92 and was "a terrible, shameful spectacle" on p. 116. To call Iago a "stupid fellow" (p. 160) seems to fly in the face of countless previous critics—Mr. Kittredge used to mention his "infernal astuteness"—but Mr. Granville-Barker is not interested in such predecessors; he mentions only five by name in the entire book (plus two editors);⁷ yet I think he uses Miss Spurgeon directly on p. 216 and some one like Mr. Stoll on p. 157n and possibly on pp. 171-2. Only one actor—Salvini—is mentioned in the book, and no American scholars at all. Just how he could entirely overlook Stoll's monograph on *Othello*, particularly with reference to those famous 300 lines, is a problem, but English critics have done such things before. My own teacher, Mr. Kittredge, used to dilate at length on Shakspeare's art in keeping Desdemona, Cassio and Othello apart throughout the latter half of the play, but Mr. Granville-Barker makes little of this (p. 97).

But the most astonishingly questionable aspect of this book, I suspect, is the author's flippant attitude toward Iago's soliloquies. The first two he skips entirely.⁸ The third one interests him mainly because of its "technical utility" (p. 24)—it fills a gap. The fourth one "is the conclusive passage in the evolving of Iago's character. It is evil for its own sake that he starts pursuing now" (p. 28). The purely expository one in Act IV, Sc. 1, he jumps right over again, together with the one in Act. V, Sc. 1. "... we listen to those many soliloquies in vain" (p. 158), he concludes. Mr. Schücking and Mr. Stoll will both throw up their hands in horror.

Yet, verily, as the length of this review testifies, the book is a stimulating piece of criticism. I wish Mr. Granville-Barker could have seen Ferrer's *humorous* Iago!

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¹In the *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, October, 1931.

²He uses dashes far too much for somewhat involved parentheses. See my next quotation, for example.

³Cf. *Parla*, Sept., 1932 and Sept., 1934. But see *his* pp. 88n, 107n, 109n, 116n, 121n.

⁴I,3,c.210-30; II,1,c.120-45; IV,3.

⁵See also pp. 14, 24, 34, 39n, 109, 110n, 111n, etc.

⁶See pp. 27, 29, 34, 61, 70, 75, 96n, 102-3, etc.

⁷E. K. Chambers, p. vii. Johnson, pp. 10-11. Bradley, p. 157n. Swinburne and Hazlitt, p. 160. Dyce and Collier, p. 122n.

⁸I,3,c.374ff; II,1,c.272ff.

MODERN STAGE-DIRECTIONS IN SHAKSPERE

By RICHARD FLATTER

THE other day, glancing through a modern edition of *Richard II* (The New Shakespeare, Cambridge) I came across the stage-direction:

Bolingbroke and Northumberland, marching with forces up a hill

and shortly afterwards:

Harry Percy comes over the crest of the hill.

"Forces marching up a hill—coming over the crest of the hill": what am I reading, I asked myself: Shakspeare's play or the script of a film version of it?

Following that, several more questions cropped up. Is it the editor's task to give his phantasy the reins and, by way of stage-directions, to produce the play for the benefit of his reader whom he does not trust to have any imagination of his own? Is the editor free to insert as many directions as he can think of? Are we to take his whims and visions as authentic? What authority does he claim beyond that of being a Shaksperian scholar? Where did he serve his apprenticeship as a stage-producer that he should allow himself to mingle his own stage-craft with Shakspeare's? And if an editor thinks he must combine editing the play with producing it, is he to produce the play as he thinks it was done at the Globe three hundred years ago, or as he apparently yearns to produce it himself at the Haymarket to-morrow?

Yet, someone might interject, perhaps those directions are exceptions only, occasional excrescences of a film-infected fancy. They are not. In *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, in the same edition, we find stage-directions such as this:

The air is heavy with the scent of blossom

or:

Wall steps three paces forward.

In *Hamlet* the editor orders Hamlet and Horatio to retire when, in the graveyard-scene, Ophelia in her coffin is brought in:

They sit in the shade of a cypress.

The question is not only whether a cypress is a plausible suggestion in as northern a country as Denmark, but also whether it is proper for anybody to be seated during a burial ceremony. Or what are we to think of the same editor's direction in the fencing-scene?

Claudius, very pale, totters to his feet.

Tottering? Very well. But how is the actor to turn "very pale" under his make-up? Or a direction such as this:

Of a sudden Oberon, Titania and the fairy-host stream into the hall, with rounds of waxen tapers on their heads, which they swiftly kindle at the hearth as they pass it by, until the great chamber is full of light.

As far as this goes, it is an excellent idea, and probably feasible, in a film; but on the stage—? The host of fairies, passing by the hearth, each of them taking down from their heads their "rounds of tapers," stooping to the fire, "kindling" them, replacing them on their heads and passing on to make room for the next fairy: I wonder what a stage-producer could make of the idea.

And yet the question is not so much whether such features of stage-production are or are not practicable, but whether such collaboration with the author is permissible.

In the "True Originall Copies" there are no indications of place, either in the Quartos or in the Folio. (The Folio, as a matter of fact, has two place indications, but each is for the whole play: in *The Tempest*: "The Scene, an vn-inhabited Island" and in *Measure for Measure*: "The Scene Vienna".) It was Rowe who first, in 1709, erected all those signposts: "A platform before the castle—Another part of the platform—A room in the castle—and so on. Pope, in 1725, added to them, and from then onwards they have been accepted and reproduced almost unchanged.

These indications do scarcely any harm, as fortunately nobody takes any notice of them even if he reads them. Certainly no producer has ever allowed himself to be swayed by them. Yet even those superfluous, though at all events modest wordings have in those latest editions been augmented and elaborated. For "A platform before the castle" we read now:

A narrow platform upon the battlements; turret-doors to right and left.

Before Puck and the Fairy meet, the scene has been given as: "A wood near Athens"; now we read:

The palace wood, a league from Athens. A mossy stretch of broken ground, cleared of trees by wood-cutters and surrounded by thickets. Moonlight.

Or instead of "Another part of the wood. Enter Titania with her Train" we are given the following:

Another part of the wood. A grassy plot before a great oak-tree; behind the tree a high bank overhung with creepers, and at one side a thorn-bush. The air is heavy with the scent of blossom . . . Titania lies couched in her bower beneath the bank; her fairies attending her.

Do we need any of these place indications, either Penny Plain or Tuppence Coloured? Why should the modern reader be regarded as less imaginative than his ancestor? Besides, is it not still true what Hamlet says about the actors: "We shall know by these fellows; the players cannot keep counsel"? When we are told by them: "'Tis now struck twelve" or "The air bites shrewdly," we know it is midnight, and a cold night. Or when the King with his Queen and his councillors enter, we are justified in assuming that the scene is not meant to be the street: and that is about all we need to know. What is necessary for us to know is said in the text itself; and what it does not say is not necessary.

The stage-directions proper propound a more difficult problem. There are, first, what I should like to call Prompter's Directions and, second, Producer's Directions. The former are those needed for the performance to run

smoothly; without them the performance, and indeed the play itself, would not be complete. They come necessarily from the author's pen, and are indispensable accessories to the text. Owing to their purely technical nature, however, they have no bearing on the quality of the production. Prompter's directions are: entries and exits; indications when a person is wounded or dies; noises on or behind the scene, such as "Flourish for the players" or "soldiers are heard marching"; or instructions such as "pours the poison in his ears" or "they play," etc. Directions of that kind are parts, as it were, of the stage mechanism only, can therefore or even ought to be corrected if they prove to be faulty: if misplaced they should be set right, etc.

Yet they should not be elaborated. When Polonius is killed there is no stage-direction in either of the Quartos. The Folio has two words only: "Killes Polonius." That was regarded as sufficiently clear — until in 1768 Capell added the direction for Hamlet: "Makes a pass through the arras." Later we find the instruction for Polonius: "Falls and dies," and finally that for Hamlet: "Lifts up the arras and discovers Polonius"—to which the editor of *The New Shakespeare* deems it necessary to add the elucidative word: "dead." One feels tempted to quote Prince Hall: "O monstrous! eleven buckram men grown out of two!"

Producer's directions are of a different type. They are symptoms and products of an art that lies beyond the mere text, something that adds to the bare action. In them the author visualizes and demands certain subtleties of the performance. They are scattered pieces of advice to the actor, instructions such as: "smiling" or "suspiciously shaking his head" or "pacing up and down in excitement." From Mr. Bernard Shaw's plays we know what they can be. In Shakspeare they are so rare that one can almost say they are non-existent.

That is not difficult to understand. As the producer was identical with the author, for whom should he have taken the trouble of writing down how he wanted the play to be produced? Moreover, in view of the rival companies it was certainly wiser to say in the script as little as possible about

the details of production: the performances themselves revealed enough to the greedily observant eyes and ears of unwanted spies. Thus in the genuine plays we find none but prompter's directions, whereas for the producer's directions we have to search the Quartos. One may go so far as to say that, if a Quarto contains producer's directions, this in itself can be taken as proof that the edition is a piratical one. In fact, all producer's directions that we find in the Quartos show clearly that they are notes taken during the actual performances.

While the Folio test of *Hamlet* contains not a single direction besides those of the prompter's type, we find in Quarto 1: "Enter Ophelia, playing on a lute, and her hair down, singing." The text itself has nothing to indicate either the lute or that her hair is "down": yet thus the scene was obviously acted, otherwise the pirate could not have observed the detail. In Quarto 2 we find: "It (the Ghost) spreads his arms"—another detail of the actual performance. Quarto 1 of *Romeo and Juliet* contains a number of producer's directions: "Enter Juliet somewhat fast, and embraceth Romeo"; "Enter Nurse wringing her hands"; "Nurse offers to go and turns again," and others.

Confronted with that dearth of stage-directions, and yet feeling that some ought to be added to the text, what have Rowe, Pope, Warburton, and other editors done? Have they turned to the Quartos and taken such directions as they could find there: directions which, after all, have at least semi-authorrity, going back as they do to Shakspeare's own productions? No, they brushed them aside and inserted directions of their own making. Almost all are superfluous, as they merely repeat what is said in the text clearly enough; some are pedantic, some tedious, though on the whole innocuous. What, however, have those modern editors done with them?

For the simple "exit" of the True Original Copies we find in that edition of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* the following paraphrases:

"bows and departs — goes — departs in anger — vanishes—follows after—disappears into the wood —exit into the brake — they all run away and hide

them in the bushes — pursues them — turns and flees — they move towards the bower — hurries away — turns into the woods — hastens after — runs off — follows slowly — they hurry forth — they pass out," etc.

To transform the mere "exit" into all sorts and ways of getting off the stage is a very necessary job for the producer of the play, but not for its editor. The reader should not be confused with the onlooker; and the reader is not helped but hampered in his own imagination by the "Presenter's" continuously raised finger.

In addition to prompter's directions we find newly inserted instructions also of the producer's type.

Egeus enters, haling along his daughter Hermia by the arm

It may be done like that, and usually is; but on whose authority is a direction like that put into the text itself? The procedure, moreover, seems rather undignified: an English lord would hardly have *dragged* his daughter into his king's presence. Or in III.i. the direction is added:

Quince takes an almanac from his bag and searches therein.

An unhappy delay. Moreover, the text does not bear it out. As Quince mentions "moonshine," Snout asks: "Doth the moon shine that night we play our play?" — whereupon Bottom, the busybody, breaks in by calling out for an almanac; Quince, however, angry at the unnecessary interruption, replies—and he does not answer Bottom, of whom he has had enough by now, but Snout: "Yes," (I know it for certain, I've made sure of it beforehand) "it doth shine that night." That does not only conform to the text, Quince's words being a direct, if somewhat delayed answer to Snout's question; it also is in accord with the situation: why should Quince take an almanac into the wood? My interpretation may be wrong; but who is prepared to maintain that the other is the only correct one? Neither mine nor the other commentary can claim to have authority; neither therefore should be allowed to masquerade as a stage-direction and intrude itself into the text.

In the *Hamlet* edition we find in the closet-scene the instruction for Hamlet:

Leads her to the portraits on the wall.

In the Appendix it is said that those two pictures are "full-length portraits." That seems to me to be wrong beyond any doubt. In the 19 lines in which Hamlet speaks of the two pictures he uses the word "this" 8 times, the word "here" twice; not once does he say "that" or "there." Moreover, where in the Globe theatre should the two "full-length portraits" have been hung up? There are other reasons against the probability of large-size portraits, but the strongest proof seems to be found in *Timon of Athens* (I.i.) where The Painter carries with him certainly not a big canvas, but a miniature. In line 160 the expression "Pencil'd Figures" is used. Now, "pencilled" does not mean "painted," as C. T. Onions in his *Glossary* maintains, but is a technical term for "limning": i.e. "making miniatures." Nicholas Hillyarde, the famous "limner" of both Elizabeth and James, describes in his *Treatise concerning the Arte of Limning* his technique as working "not with the flat of the pencil as in oyle worke, distemper, or washing, but with the pointe of the pencell by lyttel light touches with cullor very thine." If we see then that miniatures are mentioned in *Timon* and that, moreover, Hamlet himself (in II.ii.369) speaks in the closet-scene, too, it is miniatures to which he refers.

There are other arbitrary additions, such as in IV.vii.
161:

The Queen enters weeping.

That is before Gertrude delivers her highly coloured report on how Ophelia met her death. Many reasons, chiefly textual ones, can be brought forth against the assumption of the Queen's "weeping." But once more: the question is not so much whether or not an augmentation or elaboration of the few original stage-directions is justifiable, but rather whether augmenting and elaborating them is permissible: i.e. whether an editor should take the liberty to sit as it

were side by side with Shakspeare himself, or even on occasion to push him aside and occupy his chair.

To put that question is to answer it. When I read Shakspeare, which means when he speaks to me, I do not wish to be interrupted; nor does he. Majesties should be listened to in silence. I do not wish a loud-speaker continually to break into that quiet discourse, telling me not only what the author means or intends to say, but also how he visualizes each single scene to be performed. Which "he": the editor or Shakspeare? That is exactly the question.

The editor of a Shakspeare play should not regard it as his task to save the modern producer any of his troubles by preparing a stage-book for him. He should not look towards a future performance, but look back to the performances at the Globe or Blackfriars. As little as he would dream of altering a single word, should he alter the stage-directions or add to them. Stage-directions are an integral part of the text itself: their lack should no less be respected than their presence.

DICKENS' KNOWLEDGE OF SHAKSPERE

By EDWARD P. VANDIVER, JR.

IN his *Cavalcade of the English Novel* Edward Wagenknecht writes of Dickens: "He knew the *Bible*, *The Arabian Nights*, Shakspere (superficially), Ben Jonson, Carlyle best of all among contemporaries."¹

In the interest of accuracy this statement should be re-examined. The sentence implies that of the five works or authors named, only Shakspere was known superficially. What evidence is there, for instance, that Dickens knew Ben Jonson better than Shakspere? And, secondly, is *superficial* an accurate word to describe Dickens' Knowledge of Shakspere?

One of the best proofs of Dickens' deep appreciation of Shaksperian tragedy is his article in the *Examiner* (Feb. 4, 1838), "The Restoration of Shakespeare's *Lear* to the Stage," in praise of Macready's presentation of the genuine article instead of Nahum Tate's version.² After referring to some of the great *Lears* from Betterton to Kean and denouncing Tate, Dickens praises the Fool and other aspects of the play, including the following words:

The Fool in the tragedy of *Lear* is one of the most wonderful creations of Shakspere's genius. The picture of his quick and pregnant sarcasm, of his loving devotion, of his acute sensibility, of his despairing mirth, of his heartbroken silence—contrasted with the rigid sublimity of Lear's suffering, with the huge desolation of Lear's sorrow, with the vast and outraged image of Lear's madness—is the noblest thought that ever entered into the heart and mind of man . . .

The Fool in *Lear* is the solitary instance of such a character, in all the writings of Shakspere, being identified with the pathos and passion of the scene. He is interwoven with Lear, he is the link that still associates him with Cordelia's love and the presence of the regal estate he has surrendered. The rage of the wolf Goneril is first stirred by a report that her favorite gentleman had been struck by her father "for chiding of his fool . . ."

The finest passage of Mr. Macready's scenes upon the heath is his remembrance of the "poor naked wretches," wherein a new world seems indeed to have broken upon his mind . . . Mr. Macready's representation of the father at the end . . . completed the only perfect picture that we have had of Lear since the age of Betterton.

A paper, published five years later (March 4, 1843) on "Macready as Benedick," shows detailed knowledge of *Much Ado about Nothing*.³ A few excerpts from this follow:

First impressions, too, even with persons of a cultivated understanding, have an immense effect in settling their notions of a character; and it is no heresy to say that many people unconsciously form their opinion of such a creation as Benedick, not so much from the exercise of their own judgment in reading the play, as from what they have seen bodily presented to them on the stage...

We can imagine no purer or higher piece of genuine comedy than Mr. Macready's performance of the scene in the orchard after emerging from the arbour...

Claudio, in the gay and gallant scenes, has an efficient representative in Mr. Anderson; but his perfect indifference to Hero's supposed death is an imputation on his good sense... Mr. Compton has glimpses of Dogberry, though iron was never harder than he. If he could but derive a little oil from his contact with Keeley (whose utter absorption in his learned neighbor is amazing), he would become an infinitely better leader of the Prince's Watch.

Twenty-six years later (August, 1869), writing to introduce Fechter to America, he published in the *Atlantic Monthly* an essay "On Mr. Fechter's Acting." Parts of his vigorous discussion of Iago and Hamlet follow:⁴

That quality of picturesqueness, on which I have already laid stress, is strikingly developed in his Iago, and yet it is so judiciously governed that his Iago is not in the least picturesque according to the conventional ways of frowning, sneering, diabolically grinning, and elaborately doing everything else that would induce Othello to run him through the body very early in the play. Mr. Fechter's is the Iago who could, and did, make friends; who could dissect his master's soul without flourishing the scalpel as if it were a walking-stick...

From the first appearance of the broken glass of fashion and mould of form, pale and worn from weeping for his father's death, and remotely suspicious of its cause, to his final struggle with Horatio for the fatal cup, there were cohesion and coherence in Mr. Fechter's view of the character. Devrient, the German actor, had, some years before in London, fluttered the theatrical doves considerably, by such changes as being seated when instructing the players, and like mild departures from established usage; but he had worn, in the main, the old nondescript dress, and had held forth, in the main, in the old way, hovering between sanity and madness. I do not remember whether he wore his hair crisply curled short, as if he were going to an everlasting dancing-master's party at the Danish court; but I do remember that most other

Hamlets since the great Kemble had been bound to do so. Mr. Fechter's Hamlet, a pale woe-begone Norseman with long flaxen hair, wearing a strange garb never associated with the part upon the English stage... never could have achieved its extraordinary success but for its animation by one pervading purpose, to which all changes were made intelligently subservient.

One of Dickens' most significant utterances about his reading of Shakspeare is in a letter written during his first American tour in 1842, when he was thirty: "Talking of *Hamlet*, I constantly carry in my great-coat pocket the Shakspeare you bought for me in Liverpool. What an unspeakable source of delight that book is to me."⁵ And apparently Dickens read not only the text but also some of the notes. For such reading must have prompted him to write to his friend, John Forster, some years later:

If I had no *Dombey*, I could write and finish the story with the bloom on—but there's the rub... Which unfamiliar quotation reminds me of a Shaksperian (put an *e* before the *s*; I like it much better) speculation of mine. What do you say to "take arms against a sea of troubles" having been originally written "make arms," which is the action of swimming. It would get rid of a horrible grievance in the figure, and make it plain and apt. I think of setting up a claim to live in The House at Stratford rent-free, on the strength of this suggestion.⁶

In his *Pictures from Italy* (published in 1846) Dickens intertwines thoughts about Shakspeare's characters in his remarks. For instance, he begins one chapter thus: "I had been half afraid to go to Verona, lest it should put me out of conceit with *Romeo and Juliet*."⁷ But it did not; he fell in love with the place. "I read *Romeo and Juliet* in my own room at the inn that night—of course, no English-man had ever read it there, before—and set out for Mantua next day at sunrise, repeating to myself

There is no world without Verona's walls
But purgatory, torture, hell itself.
Hence-banish'd is banish'd from the world,
And world's exile is death—

which reminded me that Romeo was only banished five-and-twenty miles after all, and rather disturbed my confidence in his energy and boldness."⁸ The same chapter Dickens closes with an amusing reference to *The Taming of the Shrew*: "Like Grumio, I might have told you, in detail, all

this and something more—but to as little purpose—were I not deterred by the remembrance that my business is with Italy. Therefore, like Grumio's story, "it shall die in oblivion."⁹

Dickens often quotes Shakspeare. In the Preface to *Barnaby Rudge* he writes: "He had from the first, as Sir Hugh Evans says of Ann Page, 'good gifts'."¹⁰ In the Preface to *Bleak House* occur these not-so-well-known lines from *Sonnet CXI*:

My nature is subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand:
Pity me, then, and wish I were renew'd.¹¹

His disparaging comments on Henry Colman's *European Life and Manners*, published as a book review, includes a paraphrase of Hotspur's speech:

He talks so like a waiting gentlewoman,
Of napkins, forks, and spoons (God save the mark!)¹²

Writing to Forster about their climbing a steep path, he says: "I grovelled and clung to the soil like a Caliban, and you, in the manner of a tricky spirit and stout Ariel, actually danced up and down before me."¹³ Again, after puzzling over what title he should give to one of his stories, Dickens wrote Forster a letter consisting of one sentence: "We have heard the CHIMES at midnight, Master Shallow!"¹⁴

In the first number of his magazine *Household Words* Dickens announced as one of his purposes: "to people the sick room with airy shapes 'that give delight and hurt not'."¹⁵ Also he wrote: "The stones that call to us have sermons in them, as the trees have tongues, as there are books in the running brooks, as there is good in everything."¹⁶ Nine years later, when he was about to start a new magazine, he tried to find a title in Shakspeare. First he thought he would use the title *Household Harmony*, taking the two words from 3 *Henry VI*, where the King compares himself to captive birds:

At last by notes of household harmony
They quite forget their loss of liberty.¹⁷

Later, however, Dickens decided against this title, although

he still wished one derived from Shakspeare. A few days later he wrote: "I have just hit upon a name that I think really an admirable one—especially with the quotation *before* it . . .

"*'The story of our lives, from year to year.'*—
SHAKESPEARE.

ALL THE YEAR ROUND.

A weekly journal conducted by Charles Dickens."¹⁸

Finally, one should remember that Dickens, who was fond of appearing in amateur theatricals, played the part of Justice Shallow in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* with great success, appearing in this role at least nine times, once before Queen Victoria.¹⁹

This brief study does not attempt to point out all the Shaksperian elements and references in Dickens—for example, the rehearsal of *Romeo and Juliet* in *Nicholas Nickleby* and the satire on the pretentious Shaksperian scholar and critic, Mr. Curdle, in the same novel. It does attempt to prove, however, that Dickens was deeply interested in Shakspeare and that his knowledge of Shakspeare was more than "superficial."

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¹(New York, Holt, 1943), p. 221.

²*The Works of Charles Dickens* (New York, Scribners, 1911), XXXV, 77-81.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 99-102.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

⁵John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, ed. by J. W. T. Ley (New York, Doran, n.d.), p. 241.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 466.

⁷Dickens, XXXVIII, 402.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 405.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 419.

¹⁰Dickens, XII, p. x.

¹¹Dickens, XVI, p. vii.

¹²Dickens, XXXV, 165.

¹³Forster, p. 289.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 346.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 183.

¹⁷Forster, p. 671.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 672.

¹⁹Dickens, XXXV, 182.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 469.

THE PORTRAYAL OF WOMAN IN THE COMEDIES OF NATHAN FIELD

By WILLIAM PEERY

SO long as it was thought that Nathan Field, author of *A Woman Is a Weathercock* (1608)¹ and *Amends for Ladies* (1611), was married,² unfaithful,³ and inordinately jealous,⁴ it was not unnatural that writers on his plays interpret autobiographically his satirical treatment of woman.⁵ Present knowledge of Field's life, however, no longer leaves much room for such an interpretation. Yet even the scholar who finally established the separate identities of the married Nathaniel and the unmarried Nathan still speaks of Field's "personal animus toward women."⁶ The purposes of the present paper are, first, to study the portrayal of women in Field's plays and, second, to say anything that may safely be said about Field's personal attitude toward women.

If Field's literary treatment of woman is not to be connected with his biography, it may be well to place it very briefly against the background of seventeenth-century literature. Though satire on women is to be found nearly everywhere one finds satire,⁷ Field's satire on this subject seems unlikely to have had deep roots. He need have drawn on no older⁸ or more widespread tradition than that found in the drama of his own day. Field's antifeminism is not unlike that of Jonson. Writing on native elements in the latter, Baskervill finds the coarseness and vulgarity of most of Jonson's feminine portraits

inherited from the fabliaux and from medieval realism in general, at a time when the crude form of living developed the coarsest types of men and women. . . . This folk attitude to women as witches, shrews, and alewives, as coarse, vulgar, and sensual, reveals itself continually in Jonson's work, and indicates his social inheritance and sympathies.⁹

Miss Brinkley points out the closeness with which the anti-feminist attitude toward women in Field's plays resembles that in some of Chapman's.¹⁰ Particularly important in this connection is *The Widow's Tears* (1605), in which Field probably had acted.¹¹ The cynical realism of Tharsalio's wit may have given Field the cue for Scudmore's most

bitter denunciation of Bellafront;¹² his frank, loveless, bold wooing of Eudora, that for Bold's wooing of the Widow in *Amends for Ladies*.¹³ Professor Parrott believes *The Widow's Tears* to be

the product of a mood of pessimism that had come over Chapman as he viewed the swift decadence of his age. The mood was not permanent, but it rendered him incapable henceforth of viewing the follies and vices of the world as a mere laughing matter, and prepared the way for the grave morality and the lofty idealism of his tragedies.¹⁴

Of a different moral and intellectual stamp from Chapman, Field seems to have been little distressed by the view of women he presents. He could, with Fletcher, show woman as a weak vessel, certain to be cast, and at the same time pay striking if purely formal¹⁵ homage to her virtue. Field could write, in *A Woman Is a Weathercock*,

Why am I thus rewarded?—women! women!
He's mad, by heaven, that thinks you anything
But sensual monsters, and is never wise
Nor good, but when he hates you, as I now.
I'll not come near one—none of your base sex
Shall know me from this time; for all your virtues
Are like the buzzes growing in the fields,
So weakly fastened t'ye by Nature's hand
That thus much wind blows all away at once.
Ye fillers of the world with bastardy,
Worse than diseases ye are subject to,
Know, I do hate you all: will write against you,
And fight against you: I will eat no meat
Dressed by a woman, old or young, nor sleep
Upon a bed made by their stealthy hands.¹⁶

One of Field's major sustained passages of invective against women is this from the same play:

O woman, woman, woman, woman, woman!
The cause of future and original sin,
How happy, (had you not) should we have been!
False, where you kiss, but murdering in your ire;
Love all can woo, know all men you desire:
Ungrateful, yet most impudent to crave,
Torturous as hell, insatiate as the grave:
Lustful as monkeys, grinning in your ease,
Whom if we make not idols, we ne'er please:
More vainly proud than fools, as ignorant;
Baser than parasites: witches that enchant
And make us senseless. . . .¹⁷

There is more in this rhetorical vein; yet at the end of the play, when the three young men have won the hands of the three daughters of Sir John Worldly, Field could write also the words of Scudmore,

And may all true love have like happy end.
Women, forgive me; men, admire my friend.¹⁸

Field could write, also, on the other side of the question, as in these words of his Wife in *Amends for Ladies*:

O men! what are you? why is our poor sex
Still made the degraded subjects in these plays
For vices, folly, and inconstancy:
When, were men looked into with such critical eyes
Of observation, many would be found
So full of gross and base corruption,
That none (unless the devil himself turned writer)
Could feign so badly to express them truly?

O, let me stand,

Thou God of marriage and chastity,
An honour to my sex! no injury
Compel the virtue of my breast to yield!
It's not revenge for any wife to stain
The nuptial bed, although she be yoked ill.
Who falls, because her husband so hath done,
Cures not his wound, but in herself makes one.¹⁹

Confronting such contradictions in Field, critics—and it is small wonder—have disagreed as to Field's literary treatment of women.²⁰ The antifeminist load of Field's satire is paralleled, perhaps equalized, by a feminist load. The traditional way out of this difficulty has been to speak of the connection of Field's two plays as companion pieces. Into that subject we need go further.

Langbaine early pointed out²¹ that *Amends for Ladies* was written as a kind of apology for *A Woman Is a Weathercock*; and Field himself contributed to the notion that his two comedies were in the nature of an indictment and defense. In the epistle, "To Any Woman That Hath Been No Weathercock," prefaced to the first play, Field makes the following offer:

. . . I leave a liberty to any lady or woman, that dares say she hath been no weathercock, to assume the title of patroness to this my book. If she have been constant, and be so, all I will expect from

her for my pains is that she will continue so but till my next play be printed, wherein she shall see what amends I have made to her and all the sex. . . .²²

From this statement and other evidence²³ we know that *Amends for Ladies* was certainly planned and written, and probably acted, by the end of 1611. The two plays may have been intended as companion pieces from the time of inception of *A Woman Is a Weathercock*. Scholars were right, therefore, to treat the two comedies as companion works as they have done. "In order to make 'Amends,'" wrote Ward, "to a sex never very tolerant of satire against itself, Field . . . produced his other comedy."²⁴ "The object of the play," Collier writes of *Amends for Ladies*, "was to vindicate the female sex, attacked in 'Woman is a Weathercock'; and it is accomplished amply and happily in the persons of the Maid, Wife, and Widow."²⁵ "Soon after *Weathercock*," writes Verity, "... came its antidote, the *Amends for Ladies*."²⁶ The second play, according to Bayne, "was intended to atone for the many hard things said against women in the first play."²⁷ Miss Brinkley, finally, speaks of Field's "writing *Amends for Ladies* as an antidote for his first dramatic effort."²⁸ From the satirical passages already quoted, however, it should be clear that these remarks are somewhat less penetrating than they ought to be. A more discriminating view, which would lead to a better understanding both of Field's comedies as companion plays and of his portrayal of women, would take into consideration the distinction between two means by which Field or any other playwright expresses his ideology.

A playwright will, on the one hand, put desired words into the mouths of his personages or make them perform actions from which, taking them individually, we by inescapable inference will derive his thought. He will also, on the other hand, contrive a series of actions comprising what I shall call his fable,²⁹ which, taken integrally, embodies his ideology in narrative. The two methods do not necessarily produce the same result, as we see in connection with Field's portrayal of women. Sufficient passages have been quoted above to establish that from the standpoint of lines spoken, Field's plays are feminist as well as antifeminist.

From the standpoint of fable, the problem is more complicated.

In *A Woman Is a Weathercock* Field arranges a fable which illustrates the inconstancy of women and something more. At the opening of the play, Scudmore is reading a letter from which he and we conclude that Bellafront loves him deeply and will be his "through the world, and to the end of time."³⁰ Scudmore hands the letter to his friend Nevill, who upon reading it cries out, "O Heaven! we speak like gods and do like dogs";³¹ for on that very day Bellafront is to marry another. Bellafront's first words in the play are in reply to Scudmore's accusation,

Canst thou this holy church enter a bride,
And not a corse, meeting these eyes of mine?

She answers:

Yes, by my troth: what are your eyes to me,
But grey ones, as they are to everybody.³²

To the audience Bellafront at the outset is either incredible or a very false woman indeed. When she is first alone with Scudmore, she attempts to extenuate,³³ but we are likely to agree and say with Scudmore, "Pish! these are painted causes."³⁴ Scudmore proceeds to deliver one of the indictments of women quoted above,³⁵ in a passage which is one of Field's chief means of making his avowed point that woman is a weathercock. Scudmore is allowed to remain in his disillusioned state until Nevill persuades him that Bellafront may yet prove trustworthy and his.³⁶ Whether she is to be exonerated or not, and Field never makes her motivation very clear,³⁷ she is shown to be sincerely repentant for her actions and ready to prove her integrity by committing suicide³⁸ rather than allow her supposed marriage to Count Frederick to be consummated. When Nevill's scheme of effecting her liberation during the mask delivers her from that evil, she at once agrees to be ruled by Scudmore in all things, "even to death."³⁹ Of this fable, as of the plays generally, however, it should be observed that it delivers its satirical load both incidentally, as in passages or situations along the way, and integrally, as when one at the conclusion reacts to the whole. The fable pertaining to Bellafront involves situations which make the

reader consider her, for the moment, false and inconstant; but because the play in a comedy with a happy ending, the effect of the Bellafront fable considered as a whole is such as to suggest that, whatever may have caused her momentary inconstancy, Bellafront is a woman with a good heart in her pure breast. If Field's primary purpose in *A Woman Is a Weathercock* was to indict women for inconstancy, when he gave the Bellafront-Scudmore romance a happy ending he defeated his purpose.

That such was not Field's true purpose is argued by the fables he created for the other women in the play. Though the second Worldly daughter, Katherine, is said to have experienced a "sudden alteration"⁴⁰ in her attitude toward Captain Pouts, we see her treat him with nothing but contempt⁴¹ and express her love for Strange, whom at the end of the play she marries.⁴² No member of the audience is likely to think of Kate as a weathercock, even momentarily at a point along the way. Certainly the fable considered integrally does not show her to be such. Similarly, that part of the fable involving the third daughter, Lucida, establishes her constancy. Loving Count Frederick,⁴³ she wears the willow when it is thought he is to be married to Bellafront;⁴⁴ and when that marriage is shown not to have been binding, she marries Count Frederick.⁴⁵ Only momentarily⁴⁶ is she anything but a constant woman. In its fable, therefore, *A Woman Is a Weathercock* is, in effect, not an indictment against, but a defense of, woman; it is feminist. In only one of the three main plots, that of Bellafront, does the fable take an anti-feminist turn as the story unfolds; and considered integrally, the fable of that plot is feminist rather than antifeminist.

A revealing analogy may be drawn at this point between satirical plays such as Field's and the fiction of such contemporary American "confession" publications as *True Romances*. This type of narrative is written to a formula which might be summarized thus:

A sincere young woman, essentially good at heart, makes mistakes in ethics which with admirable poetic justice bring upon her various calamities. Her punishments she accepts with such fortitude and spiritual valor as to constitute a triumph in character.

This is an excellent commercial formula because it gives the fable of such stories an elevated moral tone. It enables the publisher of at least one such publication to advertise that every story published has been approved as to its moral values by a recognized minister of the Gospel. It enables the readers of the magazine, on the other hand, to revel in luxurious descriptions of the mistakes in ethics, written *con amore*, for which, their pleasure being perhaps largely derived from them, readers buy the magazine. So it sometimes is with allegory and satire, and so it is here with Field, that a work considered integrally may have the opposite effect from that of one or even most of its parts. From the standpoint of fable, *A Woman Is a Weathercock* is, despite its title, an instance of feminist literature. And whose fault is it if the antifeminist episodes and satirical passages are perhaps more memorable than the feminist fable?

In what sense, then, is *Amends for Ladies* a companion piece or an antidote for *A Woman Is a Weathercock*? It is such only in the effect of its fable considered integrally. The triple story of Field's second comedy shows a Maid, a Wife, and a Widow who, tempted, are in the end found not to be weathercocks. Note that in outline this is essentially the same story as Bellafront's in *A Woman Is a Weathercock*, though in *Amends for Ladies* the men furnish greater provocation to inconstancy.

In the first of its three stories, *Amends for Ladies* presents the Maid ridiculing Ingen, whom she loves, before the Wife and Widow.⁴⁷ He makes to her an improper proposal,⁴⁸ for which she banishes him from her company. She writes to him, nevertheless, "like one mad in love"⁴⁹ and disguised as a page comes to him, apparently to describe how penitent the Maid is and to explain his banishment.⁵⁰ An added reason for her disguise, no doubt, is to determine for herself whether Ingen has, as it has been reported, married another. Ingen defeats this motive by showing her his brother Frank, disguised as his bride. All hope abandoned, the Maid as page hardly surprises us when she thereupon asks to be accepted into Ingen's service.⁵¹ Meanwhile her brother, Lord Proudly, accuses Ingen of hiding his missing sister and of being a dissembler. Of the

latter charge Ingen proves himself innocent by unmasking his supposed bride.⁵² Of course delighted that Ingen is still eligible, the Maid is constrained by her modesty from revealing her true identity. More convinced than before that the former charge is true, Proudly quarrels with Ingen, who challenges him. The Maid is thus put in a situation theatrically exquisite:

O odious brother, if he kill my love!
O bloody love, if he should kill my brother!⁵³

The duel must be prevented at all costs. First the Maid persuades the merchant Seldom to have Proudly arrested for debt.⁵⁴ When her brother escapes, she is forced to employ the last resort of a heroine-page, to remove her disguise. Field makes amends for ladies in the account of the Maid by having Ingen call her "Most worthy pattern of all womenkind!"⁵⁵ That she continues faithful to Ingen is shown by her aside as she pretends to consent to a forced match with the old Count Feesimple arranged by her brother.⁵⁶ Here again, however, as in *A Woman Is a Weathercock*, we see Field using in his fable an incident which enables him momentarily to speak on the other side of the question. At her consent to marry Feesimple, Ingen pronounces the Maid "as false / As other ladies" and his brother exclaims, in an end-of-scene couplet carrying enough weight to make one almost forget the feminist fable,

O ancient truth! to be denied of no man:
An eel by the tail's held surer than a woman.⁵⁷

But the Maid finally proves herself faithful to Ingen. On her way to her wedding with Feesimple she follows a pre-conceived plan to feign illness. While the wedding party are "looking in at the window,"⁵⁸ the priest who has come to shrive her marries the Maid to the doctor, really Ingen, and the marriage is consummated. Field's Maid is not only a constant woman; as a page she is a pathetic heroine, and as a partner in intrigue she is thoroughly dependable.

Field's Wife and Widow are presented throughout as unassailable. The fable which Field shapes for the former⁵⁹ presents a woman who is convinced that the estate of a wife is preferable to that of a widow or maid. When her husband,⁶⁰ groundlessly jealous, rebukes her for obeying his

instructions to befriend Subtle, whom he has prevailed upon to test his wife's honesty, she asserts her innocence.⁶¹ Subtle and his proposals she dismisses with the temporizing promise, "'T shall be with you, if I at all do stray'"⁶² and inveighs against the baseness of men in a forceful passage quoted above.⁶³ When Subtle claims the promise, while the Husband eavesdrops, the Wife gives him a sermon which makes clear her incorruptibility.⁶⁴ Subtle begs her pardon, and she forgives them both. The Husband sums up this part of the story at the end of the scene thus:

Here then ends all strife.
Thus false friends are made true by a true wife.⁶⁵

Though quite fleshly in her speech, Field's Widow is of virtue as staunch as the Wife's. Before the play opens, the Widow has ordered Bold to remain away from her house.⁶⁶ When he gains admittance by having young Feesimple prefer him to the Widow as a waiting-woman, he attempts the Widow's seduction with every argument at his disposal. She, however, remains convincingly determined to kill him if he tries to take her by force. Finally she compels him to leave her house, refusing him even time to dress.⁶⁷ Field makes amends to ladies in the account of the Widow with Bold's line, "O widow wonderfull if thou be'st not honest."⁶⁸ These several amends to women through the fables of Maid, Wife, and Widow, moreover, are reinforced and stated theatrically when, at the end of the play, the three men call their three ladies "good" Maid, Wife, and Widow and place garlands on their heads.⁶⁹

In the impact of their fables taken integrally, therefore, the plays of Nathan Field are seen to be on the feminist rather than the antifeminist side of the man-woman controversy. Since, however paradoxically, in its fable *A Woman Is a Weathercock* is itself an amends for ladies, one questions whether Field really wrote his second comedy to atone for the hard things said against woman in his first. In truth, it is doubtful whether equity—if Field felt the constraint of such a consideration—required that any further amends be made. From the standpoint of the separate plot events and passages spoken, perhaps *Amends for Ladies* emphasizes a very little bit more than *A Woman Is*

a *Weathercock* the feminist view—but hardly sufficiently more that the second play can be said to serve as a neutralizing agent to the first. In satirical passages, indeed, *Amends for Ladies* continues the indictment. What has previously been written about these comedies as companion pieces in their portrayal of women does not describe the true picture. Neither from the standpoint of events and satirical passages considered separately, nor from that of fables considered integrally, do the plays constitute an indictment and its antidote. They have, indeed, an identical general purpose: to portray in humorous fashion the war between the sexes. If they gave the author opportunity for attacking, along the way, both man and woman, that too was and is thought to afford amusing, effective theatre.

Does the mixed evidence, then, justify our reaching any conclusion on the second question, Field's personal attitude toward women? This much, it would seem, may safely be said. Despite his shaping in his plays fables which, taken integrally, demonstrate that woman is constant, Field can hardly be termed a feminist. To continue to regard him as an antifeminist, on the other hand, would be to persist in an erroneous oversimplification. In the absence, now, of any external evidence and in the face of his having written upon both sides of the feminist controversy, one must say that there is insufficient reason for charging Field with any "personal animus toward women." His fables, indeed, would tend to point rather in the opposite direction. I would hazard the conjecture that Field had no conviction on the man vs. woman question.⁷⁰ At the opening of Act V, Scene 2, of *Amends for Ladies*, Field has Frank read his brother Ingen's pronouncement on the subject:

He prays no man, for his sake, evermore
To credit woman, nor no lady ever
To believe man; so either sex shall rest
Uninjured by the other.⁷¹

This is the way of successful commercial comedy. The contemporary controversy over woman presented Field with satirical material of a popular nature. In both his plays he made full and clever, if not intellectually sincere, theatrical use of it.

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¹Dates in parentheses after titles of dramatic works in this paper are probable dates of first production according to Alfred Harbage, *Annals of English Drama* (New York, 1941).

²Nathan's brother Nathaniel was married. A discovery a few years ago by Miss R. Florence Brinkley showed that Nathan was not—*Nathan Field, the Actor-Playwright* (New Haven, 1928), pp. 43f., 153.

³According to Sir William Trumbull, Field may have had a child "which the world sayes is daughter to my lady [Argyll]"—Edward J. L. Scott, "The Elizabethan Stage," *The Athenaeum*, 1882, Part I, 103. Not having been married, however, Field is not guilty at least of infidelity in marriage.

⁴An inference drawn from the epigram, "De Agello et Othello," J. P. Collier, *Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare* (London, 1846), p. 220. This poem, however, is thought to be a forgery—E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1931), II, 391; Brinkley, *op. cit.*, p. 43. There is no evidence, moreover, that Field ever played Othello. Applied to an unmarried man, finally, the epigram lacks point.

⁵A. W. Verity, for example, editing Field's plays for the anthology, *Nero and Other Plays* (London, 1888), suggests that the epigram mentioned in note 4 above "may throw some light on the fierceness with which women are attacked in his two plays"—p. 335. I cite Field in Verity's edition.

⁶Brinkley, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁷Hugh Walker, *English Satire and Satirists* (New York, 1925), *passim*; Théodore Lee Neff, *Le Satire des Femmes dans la Poésie Lyrique Française du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1900); Joachim Heinrich, *Die Frauenfrage bei Steele und Addison* (Palaestra, CLXVIII; Leipzig, 1930), pp. 1-50.

⁸S. M. Tucker, *Verse Satire in England before the Renaissance* (New York, 1908), *passim*; Willard Thorp, "The Position of Women in the Elizabethan Drama," *The Triumph of Realism in Elizabethan Drama* (Princeton, 1928), pp. 81-120; and Louis B. Wright, "The Popular Controversy over Women," *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), pp. 465-507.

⁹*English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy* (Austin, 1911), pp. 30f.

¹⁰*Op. cit.*, pp. 77f.

¹¹The title-page of the 1612 quarto assigns the play to the company of which Field was a leading actor.

¹²*A Woman Is a Weathercock*, III, 2; *Nero*, pp. 378-382, *passim*.

¹³IV, 1; pp. 461-465.

¹⁴*The Plays and Poems of George Chapman*, ed. T. M. Parrott (New York, 1910-14), II, 806.

¹⁵A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (2d ed.; London, 1899), II, 758.

¹⁶II, 1; p. 366. Similar passages are at III, 2, *passim*; pp. 378-382 and IV, 1; pp. 389, 390f.

¹⁷III, 2; pp. 38f.

¹⁸V, 2; p. 411.

¹⁹II, 2; p. 441.

²⁰Ronald Bayne finds one of the merits of *Amends* to be that in it Field "cherishes an ideal of incorruptible and unassailable virtue which was rare in the drama of the period"—*CHEL*, VI, 251. According to Miss Brinkley, however, Field "cannot conceive of a woman that is pure of heart"—*op. cit.*, p. 58.

²¹*An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (Oxford, 1691), p. 198.

²²P, 338. Since *Weathercock* was published in 1612 and *Amends* in 1618, Field is asking the constant woman to remain constant six years.

²³Chiefly an allusion in Anthony Stafford's *Admonition to a Discontented Romanist* in his *Niobe Dissolved into a Nilus*, entered SR 10 October 1611: "I will never write an *Amends for Women* till I see Woman Amended"—F. G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama* (London, 1891), I, 201 and J. P. Collier, *A History of English Dramatic Poetry* (London, 1879), III, 434.

²⁴*Op. cit.*, III, 50.

²⁵Quoted in Dodsley, *A Select Collection of Old English Plays* (London, 1874-1876), XI, 89.

²⁶*Nero*, p. 334.

²⁷CHEL, VI, 250.

²⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 47. Elsewhere, however, Miss Brinkley says with more discrimination, "Though he is clever to portray woman as a weathercock, he is still more clever to make her an amends without the slightest change in attitude"—*ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁹"Fable" seems a satisfactory term because it suggests on the simplest level the embodiment of an idea in a narrative. "Plot," with connotations of narrative technique, is less acceptable.

³⁰I, 1; p. 342.

³¹I, 1; p. 346.

³²II, 1[p. 364.

³³III, 2; p. 380.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵P. 4, n. 17.

³⁶IV, 1; pp. 390, 392.

³⁷Field neglects, for example, to give us advance indication that Worldly is a severe father who through control of Bellafront's fortune forces her, as he thinks, to marry Count Frederick (III, 2; p. 380) or that Scudmore has either neglected Bellafront or violated her confidences (*ibid.*).

³⁸V, 1; p. 400.

³⁹V, 2; p. 405.

⁴⁰I, 2; p. 350.

⁴¹I, 2; pp. 356f; II, 1; pp. 367, 368.

⁴²Or so I take it. Apparently on the basis of Nevill's reply to Kate's question after his unmasking, as to whether she is really married, "So, Mistress Kate, I kept you for myself" (V, 2[p. 407), Miss Brinkley concludes that Kate is intended to marry Nevill (*op. cit.*, p. 50). Two other lines, however, "Were not my heart given to another man" (V, 2; p. 408) and, when Strange reveals himself, "O my dear Strange!" (V, 2; p. 409), supported as they are by the strongly united family front of Worldly, Scudmore, Lucida, and Bellafront, by Katherine's being grouped with Strange in the stage picture (V, 2; p. 410), and by the lack of preparation for any change of heart and of solution to the problem which would arise if Kate were to marry Nevill, constitute strong evidence that Kate remains steadfast in her love for her sympathetically portrayed merchant, Strange.

⁴³I, 2; p. 348.

⁴⁴I, 2; p. 354.

⁴⁵V, 2; pp. 410, 411.

⁴⁶While wearing the willow for Frederick she refuses to marry anyone else or to pine for him since "It is not him I love now, but my humour" (I, 2; p. 358) but this was doubtless thought to be humorous.

⁴⁷I, 1; p. 419.

⁴⁸I, 1; p. 421.

⁴⁹II, 3[p. 442.

⁵⁰II, 3; p. 443.

⁵¹II, 3; p. 444.

⁵²III, 2; p. 450.

⁵³III, 2; pp. 451f.

⁵⁴IV, 3; p. 470.

⁵⁵IV, 3; p. 474.

⁵⁶IV, 3; p. 475.

⁵⁷*Ibid.* Note the use of a proverb, with its appeal to authority, to drive home this thrust. Field's plays contain fifty-eight proverbs and proverbial expressions.

⁵⁸V, 2; p. 485.

⁵⁹Probably with some borrowing from Cervantes or one of his debtors. As early as 1691 it was said that "The Plot of *Subiles* tempting the married wife, at her Husbands entreaty, seems to be founded on *Don Quixote's* [*sic*] Novel of the *Curious Impertinent*"—Langbaine, *op. cit.*, p. 198. The question of the sources of *Amends*, however, is not satisfactorily settled.

⁶⁰Not, as has always been said, Sir John Loveall, a person only mentioned in *Amends*. See *N & Q*, CLXXXIX (1945), No. 9, p. 192.

⁶¹II, 2; pp. 438, 439.

⁶²II, 2[p. 441.

⁶³P. 5, n. 19.

⁶⁴V, 1; pp. 478f.

⁶⁵V, 1; p. 480.

⁶⁶I, 1; p. 423.

⁶⁷IV, 1; pp. 464f.

⁶⁸IV, 1; p. 464.

⁶⁹V, 2; p. 488.

⁷⁰Field was by no means the only person to make literary capital of the feminist controversy. Earlier Lyly had indicted women in "A Cooling Carde for Philautus" and apparently recanted in "To the Grave Maidens of Italy"—*Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit; Works*, ed. R. W. Bond (Oxford, 1902), I, 246-257; 257-259. As Wright points out, Edward Gosynhill too had written on both sides of the question and achieved considerable popularity—*op. cit.*, pp. 468f. Cf. also the printer John Kynge, who published Gosynhill's *Prayse of all women* and *The Schole house* "side by side in the

⁷¹P. 480.

same volume"—*CHEL*, III, 101.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

By S.A.T.

Of the many, all too many, books and essays recently published which deal with Shakspeare and his contemporaries, only few of which contribute anything of value, the outstanding exception is a collection of essays dedicated to Professor George F. Reynolds by his friends among colleagues and students. The volume (398 pages, for \$2.50) was published in October 1945 by the University of Colorado as volume 2, number 4, of its *Studies in the Humanities, Series B*, and bears the title *ELIZABETHAN STUDIES AND OTHER ESSAYS*. Those who are acquainted with Professor Reynold's invaluable pioneering work in the study of Elizabethan staging, begun in 1905, and his contributions to the art of teaching literature, will be pleased with this tribute to him.

Besides a smiling portrait of kindly Dr. Reynolds and a list of his contributions to literary studies, the book contains 45 essays, some short, some long, some interesting, some dull. To us the most interesting were the twelve essays dealing with the Elizabethans, three with Marlowe, seven with Shakspeare, and two with Fletcher, Heywood, and Middleton. The writers of these essays are acknowledged authorities in their field and competent to present their findings and cogitations in an orderly and intelligible manner. Of the not strictly Elizabethan essays, we appreciated most Professor Watt's paper on "The staging of GAMMER GURTON'S NEEDLE," based wholly on evidence to be found in the text; especially welcome is his defence of the unknown author's dramatic technique.

A typically scholarly volume, attractively and well printed, notwithstanding a very few typographical errors, has engaged our attention. It is entitled *The Concept of Ingratitude in Renaissance English Moral Philosophy* (150 pages) and is the fruit of the labors of Dr. E. Catherine Dunn; the publisher is the Catholic University of America (Washington, D.C.). The subject dealt with is adequately indicated by the title of the book, but the reader will find in the dissertation much interesting comment on friendship, love, chivalry, treason, and honor, in connection with which subjects Shakspeare is freely dealt with. An excellent bibliography and a helpful index complete the volume.

One point in the make-up of the treatise we cannot resist commenting on. Dr. Dunn is evidently conscious of metrical niceties with regard to her poetical quotations; elisions are carefully observed. On page 76, quoting from *The Merchant of Venice*, she prints "commandement" instead of "commandment," but on page 15, quoting from *Coriolanus*, she prints "renowned," "deserved" and "unnatural" where the text requires "renown'd," "deserv'd" and "unnat'ral." It is true, of course, that Miss Dunn takes her text from the late Professor Kittredge's edition of the plays but we see no virtue in following the inconsistencies of a crotchety editor, even though that editor was the distinguished "Kitty." There ought to be reason in all things.

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The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



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THE PLOT DEVICE OF FALSE REPORT

By JOHN C. McCLOSKEY

IN the dramas of Shakspeare from *Much Ado About Nothing* to *Cymbeline* false report is an important and recurrent plot device.

False report underlies the workings of main plot and sub-plot of *Much Ado About Nothing*, and it is used in contrary ways. As malicious villainy it complicates the Hero-Claudio-Don John story and interrupts the course of true love; in the Benedick-Beatrice story it removes the impediments to true love and unites the lovers in spite of themselves. Its end is evil in the main plot, but in the sub-plot its end is good.

With Hero and Claudio false report is presented as simple villainy motivated by the desire of the morose and melancholy malcontent Don John for revenge. After an ineffectual rebellion against his brother Don Pedro, Don John, defeated and apparently reconciled, nurses his hate for his brother's favorite, Claudio, a "young start-up" who has all the glory of his overthrow. "If I can cross him any way," explains Don John, "I bless myself every way." Informed by his follower Borachio of the intended marriage of "the most exquisite Claudio" and Hero, heir of Leonato, Don John, actuated by revenge, makes two attempts through false report upon the happiness of Claudio. The first attempt is an accusation of personal treachery against Don Pedro, and the second is slander against Hero; both are, therefore, assaults on personal honor and reputation.

The eavesdropping Borachio overhears Claudio and Don Pedro agree that Don Pedro shall woo Hero for Claudio. Apprised of this situation by Borachio, Don John seizes his chance to revenge himself upon Claudio doubly, that is, by preventing his marriage to Hero and at the same time sowing dissension between Don Pedro and his favorite. Through the naive device of pretended mistaken identity he sows the seed of suspicion and distrust in his enemy's mind. At Leonato's feast he feigns to believe that the

masked Claudio is Benedick and informs him that Don Pedro, enamored of Hero, woos her for himself and that he has heard Don Pedro swear his affection. Borachio reinforces the credibility of this false report by stating that he, too, not only heard this but that Don Pedro swore he would marry Hero tonight.

Claudio, a man of simple, trusting innocence, accepts this false report of his friend's treachery, which is evidenced only by a lie; and without skepticism, doubt, or the exercise of critical reason believes the calumniators. Immediately he abandons Hero to his apparently false agent, Don Pedro. Ignorant of the wooing by proxy agreement between Claudio and Don Pedro, Benedick innocently aggravates the false report by his honestly mistaken interpretation of the relations between Hero and Don Pedro when he tells Claudio that "the prince hath got your Hero."

Thus far in the play false report is due to malicious villainy on the part of Don John, imperfect information on the part of Benedick, and faulty evidence on the part of Antonio secured through the eavesdropping of a servant; the effect of the second and the third is to reinforce the first.

There is little psychology in the reactions of Claudio. Uncritically accepting the false report, he simply falls into melancholy and, resigning Hero to Don Pedro, creeps into the sedges like a poor hurt fowl.

Immediately, however, Don Pedro rectifies the false report by informing Claudio in the presence of Leonato and Beatrice that he has won Hero in Claudio's name and has obtained her father's consent that she marry Claudio. Simple, direct honesty thus defeats malicious villainy, and false report is speedily extinguished before tragic complications develop.

Yet Don John makes a second, and more determined, effort to be revenged upon Claudio through the medium of false report. The motive is, again, malicious villainy. Act-

ing upon the suggestion of Borachio, Don John slanders Hero in his second attempt to cross the marriage of Claudio. In the suggestive and significant words of Borachio, "... there shall appear such seeming truth of Hero's disloyalty that jealousy shall be called assurance and all the preparation overthrown." The slander is presented as an accusation against the faithfulness of Hero. But this time Don John offers apparent evidence which is of more convincing authority than a mere lie. He has arranged the staging of a scene at Hero's chamber window that shall furnish seeming eye-witness proof of Hero's treachery. When on the night before his wedding day Claudio sees a man at Hero's chamber window and hears the stranger and a woman whom he takes for granted is Hero speak, he unquestioningly accepts the evidence of his own senses. The suspicion implanted by false report becomes immediate certainty, and the calumniator is again believed. No more critical than his friend, Don Pedro is likewise deceived by false appearances. The apparent evidence is sufficient for firm conviction, because neither Claudio nor Don Pedro exercises the critical faculty; rather, they exhibit naive acceptance of things seen and heard. The success of the false report lies in the abused person's failure to see through appearances to reality.

The dramatic result of the false report is nearly tragic. The victim of a fixed idea, with its genesis in outraged honor and jealousy, Claudio cruelly repudiates Hero at the altar. Nothing that Hero says can affect his certitude that his intended wife is but the sign and semblance of her honor. Slandered as a common stale, Hero swoons, having made no convincing defense beyond denial of guilt.

Yet there are some detached and critical observers who, knowing Hero's character, doubt the seeming evidence. Unlike Claudio, whose reason is clouded by jealousy, unlike Don Pedro, whose sense of honor has been outraged, and unlike Leonato, whose parental affection has apparently been betrayed, Friar Francis, Benedick, and Beatrice, not being involved personally in the passions of the others, can think rationally and clearly. Although in them reason and the passions are not at war, they nevertheless take no

effective steps to expose the slander of Hero by examining the circumstances of the chamber-window incident and by questioning those persons directly and indirectly involved. Although not believing that Hero stood at the window, they fail to inquire who else might have stood there. And so it remains for the watch to expose by accident the slanderous false report.

The device of false report is thus employed in the main plot as malicious villainy; its motivation is revenge, and its end is evil; it is melodramatic and tragi-comic, not psychological. Its victims are creatures of simple, trusting innocence. It is employed quite differently, however, in the subplot. With Benedick and Beatrice it assumes the form of good-natured, well-intentioned jesting; it is motivated by the comic spirit, its end is good, and its effects are psychological. Benedick and Beatrice are sophisticates taken in by vanity. None of the four victims, however, subjects the apparent evidence to critical examination. Although doubting the slander cast on Hero, Benedick accepts the report of Beatrice's love for him on the evidence of Leonardo's white-bearded honesty, that is, upon mere authority. Beatrice, likewise, accepts the results of her eavesdropping without skepticism and without question.

In *Twelfth Night* false report is an effective comic device in the subplot of intrigue. It is employed in a manner much like that of the subplot of *Much Ado About Nothing*, with some interesting modifications.¹

Instead of overhearing through eavesdropping, as did Benedick and Beatrice, false reports of their love for each other, Malvolio reads in a riddling letter, which he has found while walking in Olivia's garden, strongly hinted but indirect suggestions that his mistress is in love with him. The motive of the pranksters who wrote and planted the letter is revenge. Malvolio has offended Sir Toby by his arrogant officiousness; the steward, forgetting his place, had presumed to reprimand Olivia's uncle as if he were Sir Toby's equal. It rankles Feste that Malvolio has, by calling him in the presence of his mistress a barren rascal, cast aspersions on his professional capacity. Fabian is re-

sentful of Malvolio's bringing him out of favor with Olivia over a bear-baiting. And Maria, because she loves Sir Toby and because she detests Malvolio as a pompous servant, a time-pleaser, an affected ass, and a self-centered prig, devises the trick based upon false report.

The end, however, is comic. Bursting with self-love and already, through an excess of vanity, picturing himself as the husband of his mistress, the steward finds in the anonymous letter addressed apparently in Olivia's hand "To the unknown beloved, this, and my good wishes" only confirmation of his overweening ambition and self-esteem. Gulled by his own egotism he suspects nothing, and, as is conventional in the comedies, is thoroughly uncritical and unskeptical. By leading Malvolio, the willing victim of self-love, into an exaggerated exhibition of his humourous folly, the conspirators make a fool of him, expose him, and so achieve their revenge. The pricking of his bubble of vanity through the medium of false report has, however, a comic purpose. It is a matter of laughter rather than of serious or irreparable injury. It is high comedy rather than tragedy or even tragi-comedy. Here Shakspeare blends the motive of Don John, revenge, minus his malicious villainy, however, with the comic purpose of Don Pedro, minus, however, the resultant matchmaking, although it is true that in the end Maria ensnares Sir Toby in the net of matrimony; that is, false report, though motivated by revenge, is used for the purposes of comic art.

False report is the major plot device of *Othello*. Based upon direct slander, insinuation, and deliberate misinterpretation of the apparent evidence, it is so employed as to achieve revenge through the stimulation of the passion of jealousy. The intelligent, crafty, efficient Iago, because of failure to secure promotion, envy of the man who did secure it, and suspicion that his superior has been intimate with his wife Emilia, uses the medium of false report to revenge himself upon Othello and to ruin the reputation of Cassio so that he may secure the lieutenant's place. Wounded vanity, a sense of injustice, and jealousy motivate Iago in his propagation of false report, and his ends are, therefore, not only serious but self-seeking and unscrupulous.

His false report is directed to Roderigo, his dupe, and to Othello, the object of his hate, against Cassio, who holds the lieutenancy that should be Iago's by justice of proved merit and the old gradation, and against Desdemona, who is to be the instrument by which the ancient will even himself with the Moor, wife for wife.

With Roderigo, Iago employs direct falsehood and apparent evidence. He bluntly tells Roderigo that Desdemona is in love with Cassio and that if Roderigo wants her for himself he must get Cassio out of the way. To support his lie he adduces seeming circumstantial evidence which rests upon a wilful misinterpretation of innocent actions and the distortion of them into proofs of guilt. Impelled by his unrequited passion for Desdemona, Roderigo accepts the lie, although unwillingly, and the calumniator is once more believed. The result of acceptance of the calumny is an intrigue to discredit Cassio by getting him drunk, arousing his rash and sudden choler, and thus provoking him to a quarrel that will breach military discipline and so cause the loss of his lieutenancy to Iago and make Roderigo's way to Desdemona's heart easier.

More important than the affair of Cassio is Iago's intrigue against Othello's conjugal happiness. In his intrigue to even himself with the Moor, wife for wife, his instruments are Cassio and Desdemona. His accusation against Desdemona is essentially that of Don John against Hero; his method is, likewise, essentially that of Borachio.

Somewhat like Claudio, Othello is a man of simple, trusting innocence who accepts the apparent evidence of his senses without critical evaluation. Where Othello differs, however, from Claudio is not only in the depth and individualization of his character, but also in the dramatist's expert employment of the psychology of jealousy and suggestibility. Desdemona, too, is an innocent and guileless creature, open, frank, warmhearted, and loyal, but tactless and unsuspicious. Desdemona's free and open character being such as to whet conjugal suspicion, Iago through suggestion and innuendo begins his insidious poisoning of Othello's mind and speedily evokes in the Moor the passion of sexual jealousy.

When, with seeming honesty and disinterested friendship, Iago has cleverly suggested that Othello has cause for suspicion of his wife, Othello asks for evidence before he doubts and when he doubts, proof. Iago then offers proof in the form of logical argument: Venetians are of licentious dispositions, and Desdemona is a Venetian; in marrying Othello, Desdemona had deceived her father, and since by that act she has demonstrated her capacity to dissemble, Othello is justified in suspecting that she may also deceive him. This is, of course, reinforced by her father's dire warning:

Look to her, Moor, if thou hast eyes to see:
She has deceiv'd her father, and may thee.

Although the slander so far is by indirection and innuendo, its result is to arouse such a degree of jealous suspicion that Othello leaps to the conclusion himself and demands proof of the accusation, which is, in reality, based only on false report. Iago gives it apparently to him.

Now that Othello is in a jealous rage, wherein his passions have usurped his reason, Iago proceeds to direct slander. He has heard, he reports confidentially to Othello, Cassio mutter in his sleep, "Sweet Desdemona, let us be wary, let us hide our loves," and other revelations much more damning. Subsequently without any euphemistic reticence he makes an unequivocal accusation of Desdemona's marital infidelity. These "dangerous conceits" working upon the highly suggestible and unskeptical mind of the General drive him into a frenzy. The decisive link in the chain of apparent evidence against Desdemona is the handkerchief which, on Iago's testimony, she gave to her lover Cassio. Without critical examination of the evidence presented by Iago's false report and with certainty induced only by emotional jealousy, he orders Iago to murder Cassio, damns Desdemona, and sentences her to death, doing all, he thinks, in honor.

Thus through false report Iago has made enormous progress in his malicious intrigue, and Othello has become so utterly unskeptical that any mere suggestion made by Iago is taken for surety. The Moor is, in Iago's words, a cred-

ulous fool to be so taken in by false report and seeming circumstantial evidence. The intrigue has a tragic issue in the murder of Desdemona and the suicide of Othello. Finally, Iago adds the last bit to his campaign of slander and vilification when, after he has slain Roderigo and wounded Cassio, he accuses Bianca of being a party to the crime.

The intrigue of Iago is purposeful; its ends are selfish and malicious; its instruments are innocent and trusting people; it is concerned with personal reputation and marital happiness; it employs false report, eavesdropping, and the wilful misinterpretation of apparent evidence; and it has a tragic culmination.

False report is a basic plot device also in the subplot of *King Lear*. The intrigue of Edmund and its fatal consequences proceed from it. Motivated by rebellion against the plague of custom imposed by his illegitimacy and by covetousness of legitimate Edgar's land, the bastard Edmund utilizes the medium of a letter to transmit his false report, a device previously employed by the dramatist for comic purposes in *Twelfth Night*. False report is here in the form of direct calumny and unmitigated falsehood, and once more the calumniator is believed without real evidence or critical doubt. So that he "shall top the legitimate," Edmund writes to himself a letter and signs it with his half-brother Edgar's name; the letter, purportedly from a son revolting unnaturally against the affection due the parent from the child and against the claims of parental authority, proposes the murder of Gloucester, the father. Its end is self-seeking, its means are evil, and its outcome is tragic.

By the time Shakspeare wrote *King Lear*, false report had become in his plays a conventional and recurrent plot device which he used now for comic, now for tragic or tragicomic purposes. The devices concomitant with false report had also become conventional and recurrent. Like the letter to Brutus instigated by Cassius in *Julius Caesar*, Edgar's letter, so Edmund says, was thrown in at the casement of his closet. Through eavesdropping, Edmund offers to Glou-

cester, as did Don John to Claudio in *Much Ado About Nothing*, auricular assurance of the credibility of his false report, evidence, however, which can but prove Edgar's guilt, for the father is *a priori* convinced of his villainy. In its employment of apparent evidence and eavesdropping, Edmund's intrigue against Edgar and Gloucester is reminiscent of that of Iago against Desdemona and Othello. Just as Iago was the seemingly honest and devoted friend, so Edmund is the apparently loving and dutiful son. As effectively as Iago did with Othello, though much more easily and quickly, Edgar, through false evidence, eavesdropping, and the misinterpretation of appearances, manipulates his father's mind and damns his brother as Iago damned Desdemona. The apparent evidence of the handwriting and the signature, strengthened by oral slander, is accepted at face value by Gloucester, who flies into a passion, analogous to that of Othello and Lear, though in a different way, so that passion usurps his reason. Edmund's soliloquy at the end of I, ii, in which he sums up the situation and explains his motives, is similar in essential content to that of Iago at the end of I, iii, of *Othello*. Like Othello, Gloucester does not give the accused a fair chance of defense, and as Othello sought Desdemona's death, Gloucester seeks Edgar's. Like Iago, Edmund attains his end; but, also like Iago, nemesis descends upon Edmund, his intrigue is exposed, and his end is tragic disaster.

Posthumus' position in *Cymbeline* is a tragi-comic analogue to that of Othello, and the position of the traducer Iachimo is a faint but unmalicious replica of Iago's. Posthumus has, however, himself initiated the situation which disturbs his marital happiness, and he is, therefore, not a victim of evil in any really tragic or even pathetic sense. Rather he is victimized by his own bad judgment and callow inexperience, by his excessive self-confidence which cries out for nemesis, and by his rash boasting of his wife's virtue and constancy among sophisticated continental courtiers. Making a sporting wager with a self-confident stranger and losing, as it seems at the moment, he accepts the result, attempts, as is the conventional procedure with wronged husbands, to murder his wife for her supposed unfaithfulness, and thinking he has succeeded, is filled

with remorse and thoughts of self-destruction, as is also conventional with the husband who kills his beloved. Although he is in these respects the conventional wronged husband, he brings his fate on his own head. But in so doing, he is, nevertheless, victimized by false report attested by apparently convincing evidence.

But in *Cymbeline* a queer thing happens with the perpetrator of the false report; it is as if Iachimo is disdainful of the ease of his victory and impatient of the naiveté of the device of the calumniator believed. The credulousness of the wronged husband is too much for Iachimo, and the sophisticated villain becomes his own critic when he suggests to Posthumus, already convinced of his wife's frailty, that the bracelet might have been lost by Imogen or secured through bribery of her servants. That is, he attempts to instruct the object of his villainy in the desirability of critical examination of the evidence presented and of the irrationality of hasty judgment resting upon circumstantial evidence and emotion. The demands of the plot, nevertheless, require that Posthumus, who belongs generally to the same character grouping as Don Claudio and Othello, be credulous and accept the final bit of apparent evidence, which, had he examined it critically, he might have surmised, to have been derived at second hand from a bribed waiting maid, as could have been the rest of the evidence. But the significant point is that Shakspeare injects a skeptical note into the conventional acceptance of false report.

Imogen's reaction to false report is, however, decidedly different, and after her brief period of uncertainty in which the testimony of Iachimo has fleetingly persuaded her of Posthumus' infidelity, it is as positive as Emilia's reaction to false report concerning Desdemona and Beatrice's concerning Hero. Clear-headed and constant like Portia and Rosalind and innocent of evil like Desdemona, though not, like her, naive and trusting, Imogen's mind is not tortured by that suggestibility and distorted by that credulousness which made Claudio, Othello, and Posthumus the dupes of suggestion, evasion, and calumny. When Iachimo, with a specious appeal to retributive justice, suggests that Imogen retaliate and be revenged on Posthumus in kind, her

critical mind detects instantly the deceit of Iachimo and his selfish motive. Her reason penetrates through the seeming evidence to the truth of the character of the traduced and to the self-seeking desires of the calumniator. Instantly she repulses the Italian's improper advances and summarily rejects the false report.

Imogen's conduct illustrates what happens when reason rather than emotion governs and is, perhaps, Shakspeare's final comment on the well-worn subject, which had long been one of his stock dramatic devices. When reason and passion war in the tragedies, passion dominates and the result is tragic disaster. If, however, reason prevails, as is true of Imogen in the tragi-comedy *Cymbeline*, the seeming tragic situation may be resolved in a happy conclusion. The issue, then, in false report is reason and the critical mind versus emotion and hasty judgment.

False report is often employed by the dramatist in situations involving marital relations, although with Cassius in *Julius Caesar*, Edmund in *King Lear*, and Maria and Sir Toby in *Twelfth Night* it is directed toward other objects. Frequently it is supported by dramatic conventions like eavesdropping, the calumniator believed, false appearances, obsession, sexual jealousy, revenge, circumstantial evidence, simple, helpless innocence, and forged letters. It may be accidental, that is, the result of unpremeditated eavesdropping, or it may be purposeful and directed toward either a good or a malicious end. Where it is accidental, the complications are not serious and the issue is a happy one; where it is purposeful, the issue may be happy or fatal, depending upon whether the action is comic or tragic.

As the data of the play direct it has its motivation variously in malicious villainy, as with Don John, in self-seeking as with Cassius and Edmund, in self-seeking combined with revenge as with Iago, in jest and the comic spirit as with Don Pedro, in jest and the comic spirit combined with revenge as with Maria and Sir Toby, or in a sporting wager as with Iachimo. Usually the victims credulously accept without critical evaluation the apparent and circumstantial evidence adduced in support of the false report,

and this is especially true in cases of sexual jealousy, as in *Othello*, where the emotions cloud the reason. The method of all the perpetrators of false report bearing upon marital infidelity is the manipulation of seeming truth into positive proof through the coloring and misinterpretation of the apparent evidence. This device meets with no effective check until *Cymbeline*, where Imogen, subjectily rejects his slauderous attack on her husband Posthumus.

Imogen illustrates the rational reaction toward false report rather than the emotional one. Although rejection of false report has been foreshadowed by Emilia in *Othello* and by Benedick, Beatrice, and Friar Francis in *Much Ado*, all of them were ineffectual in exposing it. It is only Imogen who effectively disposes of it on first contact.

In comedy false report is eventually exposed, the villain is defeated, and the lovers reconciled; or where the situation is not a marital one the perpetrators of the hoax confess and the mysteries are thus cleared up with no irreparable injury done to anyone. In tragedy, false report persists until the catastrophe, which it is instrumental in bringing about. In tragi-comedy, at least in *Cymbeline*, it is either summarily rejected or, if temporarily accepted, fails, as in comedy, to produce a fatal issue. In comedy and tragedy jealous suspicion, generated by false report, hardens into certainty, or if the false report is of another nature it is accepted at face value. But in tragi-comedy, false report, if subjected to reason, is rejected. Perhaps Imogen, who thinks rather than feels, and Iachimo, who is amused at the credulity of his victim, are Shakspeare's last word on a well-worn plot device used in many of his plays to secure selfish ends or to wreck innocent lives.

¹False report occurs also in *As You Like It*, but it is there a minor and inconclusive device having no important bearing upon the course of the action or the fortunes of the characters. It is employed directly and naively in the form of a lie by Oliver to assure the fatal defeat of his brother Orlando in a wrestling match with Charles, the Duke's wrestler. Oliver is motivated by jealousy of Orlando's handsome person, by envy of his popularity with the people, and by his desire to rid himself of Orlando so that he can retain with impunity his brother's inheritance, which he has expropriated. When, however, Orlando defeats Charles in physical combat, the effects of his brother's false report are immediately neutralized, and the device ceases to operate as an effective agent of the complication.

TOLSTOY, GOETHE, AND *KING LEAR*

By ROBERT J. KANE

IN an article published on the eve of the first world war, Robert de Machiels discussed at some length the parallels between Tolstoy's final wanderings and the story of *King Lear*.¹ Having compared their pity for the poor, their experience of the storm, their pursuit by the faithful daughter, and their ecstatic death, he queried, "si c'est Shakespeare qui a deviné et pressenti Tolstoï ou bien si c'est Tolstoï qui prolonge Shakespeare."²

To one familiar with Tolstoy's denigration of Shakspeare's play, this would seem ironical enough; but in 1931 the parallelism was again pointed out — this time by Adrien Turel, who observed that the aged Tolstoy exemplified in his own person the very faults of character and behavior for which he had so strongly criticized *Lear*. Thus he signed over to his wife his property and income; and when this "mehr fiktive als reale Abdication" failed to satisfy him, he took to the roads "um in [einem] Bahnwärterhäuschen zu sterben."³

It will be remembered that the greater part of Tolstoy's essay *Shakespeare and the Drama*⁴ is devoted to *King Lear*, a scene-by-scene analysis of which convinces him that "it is a very bad, carelessly composed production" evoking only aversion and weariness. In situation and action he finds it unnatural, arbitrary, and full of gross anachronism; he instances the lack of motive for *Lear*'s abdication and Gloucester's strange attitude toward his sons.⁵ After a similar analysis of the old play of *King Lear*, he concluded that it "is incomparably and in every respect superior to Shakespeare's adaptation."⁶

There have been few to follow Tolstoy in this opinion. Even that apostle of perversity, the late Frank Harris, while conceding Shakspeare's careless dramaturgy, protests that Tolstoy "has missed all the poetry of *Lear*, all the deathless phrases."⁷

Almost a century before the publication of Tolstoy's essay, Goethe produced *King Lear* at Weimar without the opening scene. To him the division of the kingdom seemed absurd. Indeed, he thought that it might actually prevent the awakening of the audience's sympathy with Lear's later sufferings.⁸ Goethe also anticipated Tolstoy's comparison of the old play with *Lear*, his conclusion being that the subject was not suited to tragedy and that Shakspeare's changes were not always for the better.⁹ Nevertheless, *King Lear* may have affected Goethe's own masterpiece. Joseph Wood Krutch has suggested that "the scene on the heath is the inspiration of all the Walpurgis nights of literature, from that of 'Faust' down to those of 'Ulysses' and 'Antic Hay'."¹⁰

"Ein alter Mann ist stets ein König Lear," Goethe epigrammatizes.¹¹ One regrets that neither he nor the great Russian achieved a just appreciation of the tragic stature of Shakspeare's apocalyptic monarch. But, characteristically, Goethe, most Hellenic of the Germans, expressed himself with the greater moderation.

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¹"Tolstoi dans 'Le Roi Lear,'" *La Nouvelle Revue*, XIV (July 15, 1914), 247-260.

²*Ibid.*, p. 259.

³Bachofen-Freud *zur Emanzipation des Mannes vom Reich der Mütter* (Bern, 1939), p. 26.

⁴Translated by V. Tchertkoff in *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXVI (Dec. 1906), 963-983, and LXXXVII (Jan., 1907), 62-74.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 982.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁷*The Man Shakespeare and His Tragic Life-Story* (New York, 1923), pp. 226-227.

⁸Werner Deetjen, "Shakespeare-Aufführungen unter Goethes Leitung," *S Jb.*, LXVIII (1932), 28.

⁹James Boyd, *Goethe's Knowledge of English Literature* (Oxford, 1932), p. 49.

¹⁰"Shakespeare and Expressionism," *Nation*, CXXX (April 23, 1930), 500.

¹¹The first line of one of his *Zahme Xenien*.

SOME NOTES ON SHAKSPERE AND *THE MIRROR OF KNIGHTHOOD*¹

By DOROTHY ATKINSON EVANS

A. MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING

JOSEPH de Perott has suggested² that Shakspeare "borrowed the story [of the impersonation] from *The Mirror of Knighthood* rather than from Harrington's Ariosto." The arguments are that (a) "both works are equally full of bowers, arbors and woodbine (or jessamine) covertures. Even hiding among rose bushes for the honest purpose of eavesdropping, occurs in *The Mirror of knighthood* (V, 127); (b) "It is said expressly" in the *Mirror* (III, 161) "that the duchess used to walk in the garden with her attendants"; (c) "the great stress which is laid on the honor of the three knights (III, 157, 159, 163) [is] to be compared with *Much Ado About Nothing*"; (d) "The damsel's urging Rosicleer and Liriamandro to act as Policena's champions corresponds to a similar urging by Beatrice. That splendid faith which we admire in the friar and Beatrice is attributed by the Spanish writer to the lover himself."

For these suggestions as to Shakspeare's source, there is "perhaps more to be said"³ than for some of Perott's other suggestions.⁴ But Henry Thomas concludes that the impersonation is a literary commonplace.⁵ With much of Perott's "evidence" there is no need to deal further, for Thomas has dismissed it with adequate reasons for so doing.⁶ I shall try here to make a fresh start on the problem of Shakspeare's debt in *Much Ado*.

In *Henry IV*, pt. 1 (1598), Falstaff alludes to the *Mirror*⁷ when he says

Indeed, you come near me now, Hal; for we that take purses go by the moon and the seven stars, and not by Phoebus, he 'that wandleth knight so fair' (I, ii, 14 ff.)

This, I think, merely indicates that Shakspeare knew of the *Mirror*, for it implies no knowledge that could not be gained by hearsay. But there is, it seems to me, reason in

Much Ado for believing that Shakspeare was quite familiar with the *Mirror*.

As in the case of Spenser, so with Shakspeare, we can disregard the *Mirror's* third impersonation scene in the Ninth Part, for it was not published until 1601.⁸ There were available to Shakspeare, at the time of writing *Much Ado*, only the Polisen-Lusiano episode (1583, 222 ff.) and the Artalanda-Dalior episode (1586[?], 93^v-98). Either of these may have contributed elements to the plot of *Much Ado*, which is basically, of course, drawn from Bandello.⁹

The crucial speeches which reveal the plot are very brief.

At II, ii, 16, Borachio says:

I can, at any unseasonable instant of the night, appoint her [Margaret] to look out at her lady's chamber-window.

And later (II. 39-43) in the same scene he adds:

offer them instances, which shall bear no less likelihood than to see me at her chamber-window, hear me call Margaret Hero, hear Margaret term me Claudio, and bring them to see this . . .

At III, ii, 115, Don John says,

Go but with me tonight, you shall see her chamber-window entered, . . .

And Borachio boasts at III, iii, 137-43:

I have tonight wooed Margaret, the Lady Hero's gentlewoman, by the name of Hero: she leans me out at her mistress' chamber-window, . . . I should first tell thee how the Prince, Claudio, and my master, planted and placed and possessed by my master Don Juan, saw afar off in the orchard this amiable encounter.

Claudio demands of Hero at IV, i, 88-89:

What man was he, talkt with you yesternight,
Out at your window betwixt twelve and one?

while the Prince avows (*ibid.*, 94-96),

My selfe, my brother, and this griev'd count
Did see her, heare her, at that houre last night,
Talke with a ruffian at her chamber-window, . . .

These are the only parts of the play that we are here concerned with; the play's denouement has no counterpart, in any way, in the *Mirror*.

Shakspere seems to have altered his plan, for after promising Claudio (III, ii, 15) that he should see "her chamber-window entered," the conspirators only show a lady leaning "out at her mistress' chamber-window." Had the window been entered, Shakspere would have been depending again upon Bandello. But he seems to have rejected this. The original plan would have left everything to the lover's imagination, the scene taking place indoors.¹⁰ The scene which Shakspere actually reports, however, occurred in plain sight of witnesses. Throughout Shakspere's lines the emphasis is upon the words "to see"¹¹ and "chamber-window." This emphasis on visual evidence alone is sufficient to eliminate Bandello and Ariosto as sources for this central part of the hoax. At this point in the story's development, Shakspere seems to have the *Mirror* redactions in mind.¹²

In *Much Ado* there is no textual evidence that ladders were used in the impersonation scene (which is reported only). But ladders or "lines" are essential for the Ariosto scene (*O.F.*, V, 46, 50, 51) which must have used an upper, or slightly elevated, window. The *Mirror* versions, like *Much Ado*, employ no ladders below windows¹³ and the action takes place on the ground. In the 1583¹⁴ and 1586[?]¹⁵ accounts, the arrangements between the maid and the pretended lover require the villain to station himself at a postern gate reached through a garden. Even in the 1601 account,¹⁶ which is too late for Shakspere's use, the villain "coming into the garden, lesse armed than was needfull, went to the window, so passionate that he knew her not." Probably Shakspere has the earlier scenes in mind; in using no ladders he is closer to the *Mirror* than to the Genevra story. Although in the impersonation scenes of the *Mirror*, the lady and villain walk together in a garden, there is in the 1586[?] story¹⁷ a statement that Polisena and Lusiano had plighted their troth privately at her "window that had a grate of Iron, out of the chamber of the saide dutches, on a dark night, with two damsels as witnesses."

Another crucial line is Borachio's statement (III, iii, 143-44) that the witnesses "saw afar off in the orchard this amiable encounter." Now all three *Mirror* episodes are set in a garden¹⁸ but the element of distance in creating the illusion is most important. It is stressed in the 1586[?] text:

although the Moone did shine verie cleere, yet because shee was somewhat a farre of, they could not discerne anie other but that she was the Dutchesse.¹⁹

Emphasis in the play is put upon hearing, and upon the use of names. Bandello has no such scene as Borachio reports (II, ii, 39-43), nor has the 1583 *Mirror* episode any record of speeches. But in the 1586[?] account much is made of the use of names, as in Shakspeare. Roberto is heard to say, "Oh my Ladie Polisena . . ." (p. 228) and finally the maid is overheard saying, "Well, then my good Lord, . . . Heere your true and faithful Polisena, doe receiue and take Roberto Duke of Saxonia, for her spouse . . . All this that passed betwixt them, was very well heard by the three knightes that were in secret." (228^v)

Finally, Shakspeare's scene is witnessed by three men—the prince, Claudio, and Don John (III, iii, 143-44). In this detail perhaps lies the clearest evidence that Shakspeare had the *Mirror* in mind. Of all the redactions, only the 1586[?] one contains this detail. Roberto, whose motive is (223^v) "to haue his will and win" the lady, confides his plans, as Don John does, to his three friends (227-227^v). These are the knights Ricardo, Carmelio, and Anibardo. It is arranged that they "might remaine on the wall, and heare and see all that should passe in the garden." Roberto says to them,

I am verie desirous that you (my Lordes) would . . . go with me thether, and to secret there whereas you may heare and see all that passeth, . . . that then, you (if occasion did so serue) as witnesses of that ye sawe, may declare the truth of all that which you haue seene and heard . . . the three knightes . . . dyd promise unto him for to accomplish all his request." (227^v)

"Occasion" did serve—as Roberto planned it should and as it similarly did in *Much Ado*. The three witnesses later

swear to what they saw and heard. Their evidence is given publicly before King Tiberio, Polisenas father (224-224^v). The motive in using witnesses is identical in the two tales and the results are comparable.

Leonato's attitude toward his publicly shamed daughter is comprised of grief for her discrediting, of credulity for the princes and Claudio (LV, i, 152), and of anger. He talks of killing Hero. In the 1586[?] *Mirror* (224^v) the king also believes the three knights, "Whose credit is so great with the king, that he doth beleuee them more and better then if all the knights in his court had spoken and sworne it." After Lusiano revealed his betrothal to Polisenas and after she corroborated the statement (225), the king,

beleeuing verilie that shee had made her selfe sure and giuen her word unto both of them [Roberto and Lusiano], and the great good will which she bare unto Lusiano, was the occasion that shee did falsifie and denie that which shee had promised unto the Prince Roberto, and for that hee would cleere this doubt by iustice, . . . (225.)

he imprisoned Polisenas in a strong tower.

Polisenas guilt was to be tested in combat. The king ordered (1586[?], 225)

that the Duke and the three knightes that were his witnesses should maintaine and defend that which they had spoken and sworne, and that Luciano and the Dutchesse should in the space of one moneth bring knightes . . .

as champions. The battle is actually held between the four accusers and the champion (to whose aid come Rosicler and Liriamandro). In *Much Ado*, Claudio is challenged by three men: Leonato and Antonio (V, i, 65-85) and Benedick (V, i, 121-201). The play allows the challenge to pass but the number of challengers—if Don John were added, as he would have been had he not fled—is the same. It should be noticed, however, that in the play the four plotters are not, as in the *Mirror*, the potential combatants. Claudio, accepting the plotters' evidence, makes the accusation and so becomes both challenger and injured lover. Lusiano remains only injured lover, for in this redaction the plotters are the challengers. Putting it differently, in

the *Mirror* the challenge is made *against* innocence (Luciano), but in the play the challenge is made *by* innocence (Antonio, Leonato, Benedick). Shakspeare thus basically alters the relative position of "good" and "evil," giving "good" the stronger position throughout.

Alwin Thaler²⁰ sees *The Faerie Queene* redaction as an intermediary between Ariosto and Shakspeare. I think the *Mirror* is the intermediary, as I hope the following paragraphs will explain.

In Ariosto the monks tell the first story of Genevra. The second version is told by the maid Dalinda, who also is the maid guilty of the deception. Her motive in the plot is similar to that of Pryene (*F.Q.*, II, iv, 25-26) and of Margaret (*Much Ado*, III, iv, 22-23), and of the unnamed damsel (1586[?]) and of Tarsina (1583, 95).

In the 1586[?] and 1583 *Mirror* stories, no monk is used as narrator or seeker of champions. That dual rôle is given to another maid of the accused lady. Thus there are two maids, one destructive and one beneficent in influence. Shakspeare needed a narrator of the deception and he needed some one to obtain champions. He has used Beatrice (IV, i, 280 ff.) for both tasks, a combination of functions which appears in the 1586[?] and 1583 *Mirror*. The girl who seeks the champions is the one who reveals the deception but she is no party to it. The faithful maid (1586[?], 223) describes how

this gentle Luciano in a darke night came unto the windo whereas he found his faire Polisenia, and betwixt them was concluded in bandes of Matrimonie by word of mouth, in my presence, and in the presence of an other damsell of the Dutches, (who I doe beleeeue is not cleere of this treason that I will tell you)."

It is further stated (226^v) that Roberto sought for this purpose

to know which of the damsels that waighted upon the dutches, was ye basest of linage & poorest, for ye these two things in inconstant minds be easiest to accōplish their lusts and desires. And when he had learned out this, and found that there was one (amongest them that serued the Dutchesse) which had these qualities (or better to saie inconueniences) he did secretlie practise to talk with her, the which being done, what with requests, & gifts, & faire promises, in the end he brought her unto the bent of his bow, . . .

Thus the *Mirror* provides the functional prototypes of both Beatrice and Margaret, and is actually closer to Shakspeare's story than is *The Faerie Queene*. In fact, the whole episode of the play seems clearly to be indebted to the 1586[?] *Mirror* version of the Genevra story.

[To be continued]

¹The research on which this work is based was made possible by award of The Margaret Snell Fellowship by The American Association of University Women and by a grant-in-aid by the American Council of Learned Societies.

²"The Probable Source of the Plot of Shakspeare's *Tempest*." *Publications of the Clark University Library*, I (1908), no. 8. Perott's references to the *Mirror* (given here in parenthesis) are to the French edition.

³*Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* (Cambridge, 1920), 277.

⁴Perott. "Beaumont and Fletcher and the *Mirror of Knighthood*." *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXII (1907), 78, suggests that the Lusiano-Polisena story [*Mir.*, 1578, 220 ff.] may be a combination of Ariosto's Genevra story with that of Duarda and Cardonia in *Palmerin de Olivia*.

⁵*Op. cit.*, 181; cf. *Variorum*, *Much Ado*, 345-46, and Barbara Matulke, *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion* (The French Institute, New York, 1931), 189 ff.

⁶*Op. cit.*, 277; see also Henry Thomas, *Shakespeare and Spain* (Oxford University Press, 1922) or in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid, 1925), vol. I.

⁷*Op. cit.*, 275-76.

⁸Sigs. B2 ff.

⁹H. H. Furness, *Variorum* ed., *Much Ado*, vol. 12, 311 ff. Cf. also Barbara Matulka, *op. cit.*, 193 and Alwin Thaler. "Spenser and *Much Ado About Nothing*." *SP* XXXVII (1940), 225-35.

¹⁰Bandello's lover entered the house, so the lover inferred the betrayal scene but did not see it.

¹¹Furness, *Variorum*, vol. 12, 101, note 41.

¹²Thomas, *Shakespeare and Spain*, p. 29, rejects Perott's suggestions that Shakspeare drew on the *Mirror*, though he considers Shakspeare's possible debt in *Much Ado* as Perott's "most plausible claim."

¹³A ladder is used to scale the garden wall in 1586[?], 227v-228; in 1583, 96, a "timber" is used to help Lidiarte over the wall.

¹⁴Pp. 96-96v: Lidiarte is to stand "by the posterne gate of the pallaice, beeing the entraunce into the garden: for thereout will issue thy Ladye."

¹⁵P. 227; the maid "shoulde come forth into a gallant fresh garden, which was under the window of the Dutchess, . . . ; p. 228; Roberto "descended downe [from the wall] into the garden, whereas he remained till within a little while after he heard a little posterne to be opened, whereat came forth that false damsell . . ."

¹⁶Sig. B4v.

¹⁷P. 223.

¹⁸On the "formerly general use" of *orchard* for *garden*, see O. E. D. The *Mirror*, 1586[?], 122 illustrates the interchangeable use.

¹⁹P. 228.

²⁰*Op. cit.*

DRYDEN'S SHAKSPERIAN CRITICISM AND THE NEO-CLASSICAL PARADOX

By IRVING RIBNER

THE critical concepts of Neo-classicism were clearly defined and allowed for no deviation. The observations of Aristotle and Horace, in the hands of Boileau, had been forged and crystalized into a set of inviolable rules, and literary art was bound in by adamant laws. The entire system was clear, precise and dogmatic. But, in spite of its neatness and apparent perfection, Neo-classical criticism began its inevitable process of deterioration almost as soon as it came into being. In the early Shaksperian comments of Ben Jonson, we find the genesis both of Neo-classical criticism and of that paradox which criticism by rules could not avoid, and which was finally to destroy the philosophical bases of such criticism and to open the way for the Romantic movement.

Ben Jonson's criticism of Shakspeare was very general in its nature, and although it stated principles, it did not apply them specifically. It was with John Dryden that English criticism became a definite art. "He is the first critic who discusses principles and determines merit by reference to them."¹ In the critical writings of John Dryden, we find the general rules of Jonson given specific application to Shakspeare's plays, thus giving us the first clear application of Neo-classical critical method. And similarly, in Dryden's Neo-classical evaluation of Shakspeare, we find more clearly defined the elements of deterioration which were already latent in Ben Jonson's early statements of that critical philosophy.

Dryden's Shaksperian criticism, beginning in 1664, and attaining most significance in his *Essay on Dramatick Poesie* in 1668, covered a period of almost thirty years, and in it he subjected the greatest poet of all to the narrow criteria of an age which could not see beyond itself. "To Dryden, the Elizabethan age was unrefined and unlearned. Poetry was in its infancy. Audiences were pleased with anything."² He accepted the dictum of his own age that the

literature of the Elizabethans must be regarded with tolerance as the product of the unlearned and uncouth. He censured Shakspeare's failure to observe the unities, his mingling of comedy with tragedy, his excesses of passion, his lengthy metaphors, his loose constructions, and in short, his violation of every principle of literary technique which the Neo-classical age revered as sacred. But, in spite of his never-abating emphasis upon the rules, Dryden still had the critical acumen and the poetic perception which enabled him to see that Shakspeare was a great artist in spite of his neglect of those rules. Mingled with the blame, we find in Dryden the most lavish praise of Shakspeare's genius. Shakspeare for him was the man of "the most universal mind."³ But, as Augustus Ralli has written, "Again and again, after one of his flights of praise, he droops wings and settles upon earth, and blames Shakespeare according to current orthodox notions of what verse should be or tragedy or comedy, or plot or character drawing."⁴

What greater tribute can there be than the paragraph in *The Essay on Dramatick Poesie* in which he says of Shakspeare:

"He was the man who of all modern, and perhaps ancient poets, had the largest and most comprehensive soul. All the images of nature were still present to him, and he drew them, not laboriously, but luckily; when he describes anything, you may see it, and feel it too. Those who accuse him to have wanted learning, give him the greater commendation; he was naturally learned; he needed not the spectacles of books to read nature; he looked inwards, and found her there."⁵

That those lines were written with the utmost sincerity, we cannot doubt, but how strange they sound in the light of Dryden's constantly expressed critical doctrines, and his equally constant belittlement of Shakspeare's age and his art. Augustus Ralli has written that Dryden's virtues were his own and his faults those of his age.⁶ Dryden's faults lay in his acceptance of the critical dogmas of his age; his virtues lay in a poetic insight which enabled him to perceive the beauties of an art which exceeded the limitations of dogma. The two sides of him were in perpetual conflict. Neither could triumph, and only an inexplicable paradox could result.

Here, then, was a problem which Neo-classicism could not resolve. A critical system of evaluation by rules, which lavishly praised a work as a whole, while it severely criticized its component parts, could not exist. One after another, the Neo-classical critics of Shakspeare in the 18th century attempted to explain away the paradox, but the explanations grew only lamer and lamer, until they died out completely and the entire critical system gave way.

If anyone should doubt that the paradox was unavoidable—that it was the inevitable concomitant of any intelligent application of Neo-classical criticism to Shakspeare—he need only look at the work of Thomas Rymer. Never in the history of English literature has there been a more dogged exponent of the rules of Neo-classicism. Dryden could make allowance for the greatness of Shakspeare, in spite of his violation of the rules. Rymer could not. Certainly, the position of Rymer is the more logical one. It is a strict observance of the rules of Neo-classicism, and in its application there can be no conflict or paradox. But what utter nonsense his criticism becomes when it is applied to Shakspeare. In his *A Short View of Tragedy*, a little pamphlet which appeared in 1693, he reduced Shakspeare to the stature of an uncouth writer of nonsense,⁷ and that conclusion, moreover, logically followed from his strict application of the Neo-classical rules to Shakspeare's art. When he applied his critical system to Milton, he spoke of "that *Paradise Lost* which some are pleased to call a poem." Rymer's criticism was logical and straightforward. Dryden's paradox was avoided. We shall let the results of such criticism speak for themselves.

If we examine 18th century Shaksperian criticism, we shall find two dominant schools. On the one hand, there are the strict Neo-classicists. Men like Edward Taylor⁸ followed Rymer and found only faults in Shakspeare. They are a small minority of insignificant critics, the only value of whose work is as illustration of what utter stupidity could result when the Neo-classical paradox was avoided.

On the other hand, the followers of Dryden are the significant and dominant school. They include the most important Shaksperian critics of the age: Lewis Theobald,¹⁰

Elizabeth Montagu,¹¹ Francis Gentleman,¹² Samuel Johnson,¹³ William Richardson,¹⁴ and many others. All praised Shakspeare while they censured him, and all made excuses for his failure to observe the rules. If Rymer and his followers were ridiculous, they were at least consistent. These were confused and uncertain, and in the last analysis, meaningless.

To John Dryden, then, the champion and greatest exponent of Neo-classicism, goes the credit of having laid the groundwork for the collapse of the critical movement with which we associate his name. In his subjection of Shakspeare to criticism by rules, he unwittingly emphasized the already latent paradox upon which his own critical system was to perish.

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¹V. K. Ayappan-Pillai, *Shakespeare Criticism from the Beginning to 1765*, (London & Glasgow: Blackie & Sons, 1932) p. 39.

²John Olin Eidson, "Dryden's Criticism of Shakespeare," *Studies in Philology*, XXXIII (1936) 279.

³W. P. Ker (ed.) *The Essays of John Dryden* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900), I, 288.

⁴Augustus Ralli, *A History of Shakespearean Criticism*, (London: Humphrey Milford, 1932) I, 6.

⁵Ker, *Op. Cit.*, I, 79.

⁶Ralli, *Op. Cit.*, I, 6.

⁷Thomas Rymer, *A Short View of Tragedy*, (London: Richard Baldwin, 1693) *Passim*.

⁸Quoted by Pillai, *Op. Cit.*, p. 49.

⁹*Vide* Edward Taylor, *Cursory Remarks on Tragedy*, (London: W. Owen, 1774).

¹⁰*Vide* Lewis Theobald, *The Censor* (London: Jonas Brown, 1717).

¹¹*Vide* Elizabeth Montagu, *An Essay on the Writings And Genius of Shakespeare*, (London: J. Dodsley, 1769).

¹²*Vide* Francis Gentleman, *The Dramatic Censor or Critical Companion*, (London: J. Bell, 1770).

¹³*Vide* Walter Raleigh (ed.) *Johnson on Shakespeare*, (London: Humphrey Milford, 1908).

¹⁴*Vide* William Richardson, *Essays on Some of Shakespeare's Dramatic Characters* (London: J. Murray and S. Highby, 1797).

THE USE OF CONTRAST IN *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE*

By E. J. WEST

THE Merchant of Venice is admitted by many honest readers, who have heard or read too much concerning it before encountering the work itself, to be a disturbing play. Quite possibly it is disturbing just because it is more exclusively a play than many of its fellows in the Shakspeare canon. I do not mean that the other plays have a lesser value as drama, but rather that *The Merchant* has a lesser value as literature. If we except such obviously bravura passages as "the quality of mercy" speech and the "on such a night as this" sequence, the script (for it is well, at least occasionally, to remind ourselves that Shakspeare's primary concern was to provide scripts for an acting company and not materials for academic research) offers *actually* less of poetry, of characterization, of sustained and lucidly articulated "moral philosophy," than does the bulk of the author's work. I am aware that conventional criticism has discoursed endlessly upon "the truth of the characterization," the "moral grandeur," the pointing of "the great lesson of life," and so on. In reading the play as a trained student of drama and a professional producer of theatre I simply do not find these things. In reading what the critics have written I can usually figure out upon what they have built their theories, but I feel increasingly that the genesis of most of these theories lies in a preconceived idea of what Shakspeare should have done rather than in an actual estimate of what he did. And what he did, I firmly believe, was to provide a company of actors with an excellently constructed script to fill out in production pretty much as they would.

The fate of Shylock and the gradual change in interpretation of his character in the hands of successive actors from Macklin to Irving or Warfield or Skinner, or even some probably better unmentioned contemporary actors, is a tale too often told. Possibly it is less frequently realized that Portia, at least after women began to play her, appa-

rently suffered equally varied interpretations. Ellen Terry, in one of her lectures on Shakspeare, used to remind her audiences of the German "tradition that Portia is a low comedy part."¹ When the players themselves have exercised almost completely divergent interpretations of some of the leading characters, it is not to be wondered at that the critics have been equally successful, for instance, in demonstrating to their several satisfactions that Antonio is at once a colorless figurehead and a completely realized and comprehensible three-dimensional character, and Gratiano at once a witty moralist and a loathsome and disgusting libertine. May not all of the trouble have arisen because at the time of the play's composition Shakspeare's company was, for the time being at least, lacking in "stars," but provided with a largish ensemble, each of whom was capable of holding up his share of the excellently arranged action? This, at any rate, is the conclusion I would reach after an honest attempt to evaluate the play as written. I admit there are suggestions in plenty for individualizing almost all of the many characters, but primarily this is a comedy of intrigue, and shows a young dramatist in mid-career successfully providing for his company almost a "pot-boiler." For *The Merchant* will apparently "go" whether it be played under that title or alternative ones of *The Jew of Venice* or *The Lady of Belmont*.

Shakspeare certainly wrote the play in mid-career, whatever date we may prefer to accept, and in it we see him arriving at something of a sense of proportion in his observation of his fellows: notice, for instance, the difference between the near-idolatry of the young-gentleman type in preceding comedies and the variously critical portraits of Antonio, Bassanio, Gratiano, Salanio and Salarino. We see him definitely attaining mastery of the writer's medium of words: note the increasingly flexible blank-verse line, the increasing eschewing of arbitrary outcroppings of rhymed verse, and the greatly improved management of varying prose styles. And we witness an almost amazing dexterity in blending together four diverse plots and harmonizing them largely through a series of variously graduated contrasts. It is with a brief listing of a few of these innumerable

contrasts which at once blend and articulate the play that I am here concerned.

Countless critics have drawn attention to the contrast between what Dowden well called the "Rembrandt-like dusk and shadow of Shylock's life" (or Venice) and what he might well have called the Titian-like "brilliance and . . . sunshine of the life of Portia" (or Belmont).² If we make a mere schematic listing of the settings of the twenty scenes of the play, we find immediately the obvious but subtly varied contrast of place which forms such a large part in the architectonics of the original script: Act I, Belmont framed in Venice; Act II, Venice framed in Belmont; Act III, Venice alternated with Belmont; all these leading up to the final contrast of Act IV, Venice, with Act V, Belmont. Any consideration of contrasts in the action itself would involve us in too lengthy an analysis: suffice it to hint at the gradations from the obvious contrast of the various casket-scenes to the more subtly interfused and finely interwoven contrast of the letter-of-the-bond between Antonio and Shylock with the letter-of-the-promise, made by Bassanio and Gratiano anent the rings. But I would particularly emphasize the strong series of contrasts formed by the very conception and interlocking of the characters.

In earlier plays Shakspeare's normal practice had been to divide his characters into large groups, each group being largely homogeneous within itself, and contrast being present mainly in the differences between the groups as wholes. Even in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, despite the clever bridgings, such as those affected by Puck and Bottom, the characters fall absolutely into three groups. But in *The Merchant* the many characters are so interrelated and so logically (or is it imaginatively?) intermingled that we may actually for once need the academic hunter of sources to keep us reminded of the many plots so fused into one. We find first such strong contrasts as that of Antonio versus Shylock: Christian versus Jew, honest merchant versus crabbed usurer, and so on, this contrast shaded a bit by the linking of the two characters through mutual intolerance and bigotry; that of Antonio versus Bassanio: melancholiac introvert versus gay materialistic extrovert; or that of An-

tonio-Bassanio versus Bassanio-Portia: friendship versus love. And these strongest contrasts (I have not attempted to exhaust them) are strengthened by a series of comparisons and symmetries, each involving its own variously shaded contrasts.

The real friendship of Antonio and Bassanio, for instance, is balanced against what we might term the business-companionship of Shylock and Tubal. The Antonio-Bassanio friendship is more evenly balanced by that of Portia and Nerissa, but the symmetry here seems less obvious since Nerissa is eventually paired off not with Antonio but with Gratiano, a new balance being thereby effected of Portia and Bassanio against Nerissa and Gratiano. Antonio, with his satellites Salanio and Salarino, is balanced by Bassanio and his companions Gratiano and Lorenzo; this symmetry is given its needed variety by the greater differentiation between Gratiano and Lorenzo, Salanio and Salarino being almost completely undistinguishable, even in production (surely Shakspeare's deliberate intent here is implicit in the similarity of the names). The love-relationship of Portia-Bassanio and Nerissa-Gratiano is echoed in that between Jessica and Lorenzo, this last, of course, providing itself a major contrast with the Jew-Christian relationship of Shylock and Antonio. There are obvious mutual contrasts among the six suitors discussed by Portia and Nerissa in the second scene of the first Act, and between them and the three suitors whose courtship by trial is dramatically presented: The Prince of Morocco, the Prince of Arragon, and Bassanio. The Princes themselves contrast with each other, and together they form a contrast with Bassanio. The tendency toward the pairing of the major characters is repeated on a minor level in the differences of characterization presented in the two Gobbos (this becomes mere hobby-horse riding: I realize perfectly that Old Gobbo was added for a practical, not an aesthetic, reason—another comedian had to be given a part). Launcelot, incidentally, is skilfully used as a bridge between groups, supporting the link formed by Lorenzo and Jessica; also the faintly suggested affection of Launcelot for Jessica is employed to point up the stronger passion between Lorenzo and Jessica.

Doubtless this seeking of contrasts and comparisons, forming the separate pieces which go to make the structure of the whole, might be carried much further, but the parenthetical dubiety expressed above warns me that the hobby-horse may already be rocking too violently. I believe I have demonstrated, however, that unless the play is read, or preferably performed, and criticized with all of these contrasts and interrelationships in mind and in concrete presentation on the stage, the real harmony of point and counterpoint which the playwright composed is destroyed, and a finely plotted piece of theatrical workmanship is degraded to a mere "starring-vehicle" for egocentric actor-managers and "first ladies of the stage."

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¹Ellen Terry, *Four Lectures on Shakespeare* (London, 1932), p. 116.

²Edward Dowden, "The Merchant of Venice. Introduction," *The Comedies of William Shakespeare* (London, 1912), p. 323.

THE KING LEAR QUARTO

By S. A. SMALL

THE most puzzling quarto of any of Shakspeare's plays is that of *King Lear* commonly known as the *Pide Bull Quarto* (1608). It shows the traces of many attempts to improve (?) the reading of the text. Though not as 'literary' in its diction as the Folio version, it is full and rich in suggestive readings, revealing changes made by a reporter, an actor, a compositor, a press reader, a scribe, and even by the author himself. Since Charles Knight in 1841 noted that the "metrical arrangement is one mass of confusion" and Nikolaus Delius in 1874 concluded his study in the *Jahrbuch* "gegen die Annahme einer späteren Revision des Dramas von Shakspeare's Hand," critics have given much analytical study to its text and cannot agree on its authenticity nor on how much influence it had on the editors of the First Folio. A thorough study of the textual problem of this play has recently been made by Leo Kirschbaum in his book, *The True Text of "King Lear"*, 1945, published by The Johns Hopkins Press.

The confusion surrounding the text of the *King Lear* Quarto well illustrates the task of the critic in selecting what he thinks are the proper readings for an authentic text. The textual critic tries to remove obscurities in the text so that the original intention of the author may be clearly understood. It is in the province of the critic to use bibliographical methods whenever the text can be compared with earlier transcripts when these are available. In the sixteenth century there was no customary way by which a book got into print.* The indifference of an author like Shakspeare to the publication of his works reflects the communal conditions of authorship existing in the Renaissance period as carried over from Medieval times. The confusion resulting from this has caused much uncertainty in editing the proper text of *King Lear*. The Medieval scribe whose forte was accuracy in copying became in the sixteenth century a vital factor in literary publication because his work took on

*I refer here to the uncertainties of authorship, not to the legal requirements for printing.

a wider intellectual usefulness. The scribe became the amanuensis.

The oral nature of dramatic expression made it necessary for a playwright to depend on stenographic assistance. That Shakspeare dictated much of his writing to an amanuensis skilled in shorthand seems plausible when we think of playhouse conditions as well as the textual conditions of most of his plays. If he did not himself dictate scenes or at least changes in his manuscript to an amanuensis, the prompter and the actors certainly did, as we have available evidence that changes were freely made after a manuscript was submitted for acting.

The business of this scribe (turned amanuensis) is the cause of much of our difficulty in determining correct readings. He became, we feel sure, more intellectually able to understand and criticise the work he was transcribing. More self-conscious and more humanly interested in his work, he became subject to making errors; and the exactness of the old medieval scribes, who worked more mechanically, disappeared from the workmanship of the stenographers used by Elizabethan playwrights. He must also have been a handy man in noting down suggestions and selecting what he thought was authoritative revision.

For this reason, during Shakspeare's time there could be no such thing as a perfect copy. Manuscripts which were copied and recopied for purposes of circulation certainly reached the printer finally in a condition much different from the original. This attitude about making copies does not indicate any piratical intentions, for the custom of consciously making changes, while copying, was generally acceptable in the Renaissance as elucidating the original. The author's personality thus became of little account; what did matter was communal understanding. The author was anonymous in spirit; the spectator or reader did not keep in mind the author, as is so horribly the case today in what we call "original" literature.

I mention these points because they influenced Shakspeare while he was making and working over his own text.

Shakspere was a part of this communal activity in which his own personality was lost. The task of determining a true text of *King Lear* as undertaken by Leo Kirschbaum must be conditioned on the critic's willingness to form subjective judgments as to autograph readings; he must know when the authority of Shakspere is present.

The textual problem of *King Lear* has been brought closer to solution by the recently published volume by Leo Kirschbaum. This work follows the publication of many vital articles on the same subject, including those of Daniel, Greg, Chambers, Van Dam, and Miss Doran, to say nothing of Nikolaus Delius and Alexander Schmidt who did the pioneer work. W. W. Greg in several studies, especially in his "The Function of Bibliography in Literary Criticism Illustrated in a Study of the Text of *King Lear*," *Neophilologus*, XVIII (1933), and in his more recent publication: *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare*, 1942, summarized the various issues and contentions in the problem but failed to make a final solution of the problem of the Quarto text. Miss Madeleine Doran has placed high authority on the Quarto text in her "The Text of *King Lear*," *Stanford University Publications*, 1931. This estimation is rejected by Leo Kirschbaum who reduces the value of the Quarto to the category of a "bad" quarto.

He proves his thesis by pointing out in detail seventy places in the quarto where contamination takes place to such a degree that the whole text is proved to be one based on memorial reconstruction. This contamination may take the form of repetition or of telescoping. An example of repetition is as follows:

reserve thy state,
And in thy best consideration checke
This hideous rashnesse, —F (1. 1. 141-3)
Reverse thy doome, and in thy best consideration
Checke this hideous rashnes, —Q (B 3r)

Kirschbaum's comment (p. 17) on these passages is somewhat typical of all his comments:

F's "reserve thy state" becomes "Reverse thy doome" in Q's 151.
This is a memorial anticipation of Q's version, "Revoke thy doom,"

of F 167's "revoke thy guilt." The reporter's memory was, perhaps, not uninfluenced by recollection of similar conventional phraseology in other Shakespeare plays: "Revoke that doom of mercy," *III Henry VI*, II. vi. 46; "reverse the doom of death," *Titus Andronicus*, 111. i. 24.

Kirschbaum thinks the *King Lear* reporter had a "capable auditory memory but not a very high degree of intelligence" (p. 30). His memory worked faster than his hand, resulting in bringing together similar bad constructions. This is called "telescoping" which occurs frequently (*e.g.* the Quarto reading of F (II.iv.82-105).

In one instance, however, Kirschbaum has to admit a piece of evidence which indicates (as Daniel believed) that F was based on the uncorrected copy of the Quarto. Here are the individual readings:

QA: come and tends servise

QB: commands her service

F: commands, tends, service — II. iv. 103

Of these three variant readings, the corrected Quarto (QB) gives the correct emendation. The Folio reading has not yet been explained, but Kirschbaum suggests that "tends" is an old form of "attends" meaning "waits for." This does not, however, explain away the second comma, though it could be regarded as a superfluous mark indifferently put there by the printer.

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EDMUND'S NATIVITY IN *KING LEAR*

By JOHNSTONE PARR

HE only natal horoscope in Shakspeare's plays which has any "technical" significance is Edmund's nativity in *King Lear*. Nonchalantly and scoffingly Edmund tells us:

My father compounded with my mother under the dragon's tail,
and my nativity was under Ursa major; so that it follows I am
rough and lecherous. Tut, I should have been that I am had the
maidenliest star in the firmament twinkled on my bastardizing.¹

We need not dwell upon that item in the horoscope known as the Dragon's Tail; many editors have noted its sinister influence.² But Edmund's statement that his "nativity was under Ursa major" and the conclusion that this configuration supposedly made him "rough and lecherous" has been ignored by all critics of the play.³

Ursa Major (known also as the Great Bear or the Big Dipper) is a group of fixed stars north of the zodiac whose astrological nature was reckoned as that of the planets Mars and Venus, with Mars predominating. Claudius Ptolemy, undoubtedly in the Renaissance the supreme authority in astrological matters, writes:

The constellations north of the zodiac have their respective influences, analogous to those of the planets, . . . *Ursa Major* is like Mars, but the nebula under the tail resembles . . . Venus in its influence.⁴

If we consult the works of the astrological authorities, we discover that these two planets which governed Ursa Major produced a character remarkably similar to that of Edmund.

Richard Saunders, in a huge compendium which reports a host of Renaissance physiognomists and astrologers, specifically calls the Martial man "rough." Says he

Those who are born Martial and under Aries are red or flaxen hair'd, a rough sort of people, rude and invincible; . . .⁵

Cornelius Agrippa describes the Martial man similarly: "A sour, fierce, cruel, angry, rough countenance and ges-

ture are ascribed to Mars."⁶ And Ptolemy would ascribe many particulars of Edmund's character to the dominant influence of the War-planet:

Mars alone having dominion of the mind, and placed with glory, makes men . . . irascible, warlike, versatile, powerful in intellect, daring, bold, . . . obstinate, . . . self-confident, contemptuous, . . . tyrannical, . . . ; but, posited ingloriously, he makes men cruel, mischievous, sanguinary, tumultuous, . . . rapacious, pitiless, familiar with crime, restless, . . . hostile to their families, and infidels in religion.⁷

As we have seen, the constellation of Ursa Major exerted the *combined* influences of Mars and Venus. The astrologers do not leave us in doubt as to the dispensations of such a configuration. Ptolemy continues:

Should Mars be conciliated with Venus, and . . . if he have an inglorious position when thus conciliated, he makes men overbearing, lascivious, sordid, opprobrious, adulterous, mischievous, liars, fabricators of deceit, cheats of their own families as well as others, eager in desire, . . . debauchers of wives and virgins, daring, impetuous, ungovernable, treacherous, faithless, dangerous, . . .⁸

And Albohazen Haly, chief representative of the Arabian astrologers, agrees:

If Mars is in harmony with Venus and in a good position, they create a native who . . . loves a vicious and depraved life. Such a native . . . is a reveler, . . . and has unlawful and sinful relations with the opposite sex; he is . . . a mocker and a deceiver, . . . easily angered. But if these planets are in positions opposite to that of which we have spoken, they make the native . . . meretricious, a dishonorer, a teller of lies, a deceiver of friends and others; successful in satisfying his desires, seducing and corrupting good women and virgins, wise in perpetrating frauds and betrayals. He is a perjurer, a scoffer and reviler, a reprobate in habits and thought, busily engaged in conceiving corrupt acts and in the practice of abominable fornication.⁹

It seems that almost any relationship between Mars and Venus would produce similarly deplorable results, for John Taisnier remarks that if Mars be even in the "house" of Venus (*i.e.*, in Taurus or Libra),

... the native shall be voluptuous and a fornicator, perpetrating wickedness with women of his own blood, becoming guilty of incest, or committing adultery with women whom he has seduced by promises of marriage; . . .¹⁰

Thus the planet Mars (whose influence predominates in Ursa Major) is a malicious worker of evil, particularly when he mingles his influence with that of Venus (who also influences through Ursa Major). There is certainly no doubt that the astrological authorities would presage that one born under the influence of Ursa Major would be "rough and lecherous," and destined to become a villain of the first order.

Now Edmund's career shows him to be in large measure the living embodiment of astral influences exerted by the malignant constellation of Ursa Major. He is recognized immediately as the villain of the play after his first soliloquy, in which he informs us of his religious infidelity, his audacious independence, and his "invention" whereby he shall dupe his legitimate brother out of the latter's inheritance. As he pursues his plan of maliciously playing upon Gloster's credulity, we see Edmund's scoffing and contentious attitude toward his old father's belief that the recent eclipses portend no good for the kingdom. His complete independence, egotism, and religious infidelity are seen again in his belittling remarks about astrology, a science in which Lear, Kent, and Gloster all had faith.¹¹ His treachery and his martial lack of sympathy are fully exhibited by his deliberate betrayal of his father into the hands of those who pluck out the old man's eyes and send him stumbling off to Dover. His skill in devising deceits and frauds is well attested by the manner in which, Iago-like and in the fashion of a professional criminal, he dupes both Gloster and Edgar. But he is no coward; indeed, he possesses an unusual amount of military prowess, valor, courage, and strength of will. It is he who leads the "powers" of Albany and Regan, wins the battle against the invading French army, gives orders as to what should be done with the captives. He is bold enough to defy Albany and courageous enough to accept at once the challenge from Edgar.¹² Doubtless the predominance of Mars in his nativity is responsible for such martial—such "rough"—qualities. For Edmund is, like the Martial man, a purposeful adventurer—determined to seize first his brother's possessions and then (through deceitful and unscrupulous con-

³The one exception is E. B. Knobel, "Astrology and Astronomy," in *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1916, 1932), I, 459, who writes: "All the stars in Ursa Major were reckoned to be of the nature of Mars, who was 'choleric and fiery, a lover of slaughter and quarrels, murder, a traitor of turbulent spirit, perjured, and obscene'." Although he cites no reference, Mr. Knobel is quoting from William Lilly's *Christian Astrology* (London, 1647; reprinted, 1939), pp. 40-41; and his statement that Ursa Major was governed by Mars alone is inaccurate.

⁴*Tetrabiblos sive Quadripartitum*, trans. J. M. Ashmand (London, 1822; Chicago, 1936), Bk. I, ch. x. Numerous editions of Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* were published in the sixteenth century: in 1533, 1535, 1541, 1552, 1554, etc.

⁵*Physiognomie, Chiromantie, Metoposcopie* (London, 1653), p. 157. At the beginning of this work, Saunders lists almost two hundred authors as his authorities.

⁶Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *De occulta philosophia*, or *Three Books of Occult Philosophy or Magic*, ed. W. F. Whitehead (New York, 1897), Bk. I, ch. lii, p. 156.

⁷Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, Bk. III, ch. xviii. Similar statements may be found in Claudius Ptolemy's *A Briefe . . . Introduction to the Astrological Iudgement of the Starres*, trans. Fabian Withers (London, 1583, 1591, 1598), sig. D3r; John Indagine's *Briefe Introductions unto . . . Natural Astrology*, trans. Fabian Withers (London, 1575, 1598), sigs. Plv, P2r; Augier Ferrier's *A Learned Astronomical Discourse of the Judgement of Nativities*, trans. Thomas Kelway (London, 1593), p. 14; and many others. (Copies I used are those in the Folger Shakespeare Library.)

⁸Ptolemy, *loc. cit.*

⁹*Liber completus in iudiciis stellarum* (Venice, 1485, 1531; Basle, 1551, 1571); cited by Ioannes Baptista Porta, *Coelestis physiognomoniae libri sex* (Rothomagi, 1650; published also in 1603), p. 77.

¹⁰*Absolutissimae Chyromantiae Libri Octo* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1563), p. 615; cited by W. C. Curry, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences* (New York, 1926), p. 101.

¹¹Cf. Hardin Craig, "The Ethics of *King Lear*," PQ, IV (1925), 97-109, and his *Shakespeare* (New York, 1932), p. 851; Professor Craig maintains that "Edmund's denial of planetary influence must be set down as a sort of religious infidelity."

¹²V. iii. 41 ff.

¹³A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 301.

¹⁴IV, ii.

¹⁵IV, v. 19 ff.; IV, vi. 261 ff.

¹⁶V. i. 55-58.

¹⁷Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

A TECHNIQUE OF MOTIVATION IN *ROMEO AND JULIET*

By H. E. CAIN

IT is a commonplace of Shaksperian criticism that *Romeo and Juliet* is extremely rich in lyric quality. A good many students of the play have even held that this feature constitutes its author's most important achievement in creating it. Chambers¹ regards it as "a tragedy of lyric emotion" rather than "a tragedy of philosophic insight," and Spencer² holds that in this play "Shakespeare's major contribution is the poetry of the great lyric passages." Examples of such commentary might be multiplied indefinitely.

It may be objected, of course, that the term *lyric*, as employed in such passages, is an extremely vague and indefinite one. This cannot be denied; but so is every other use of the term *lyric* when it refers to the general class of poetry it is used to designate. However, no two critics who, having read and compared *Romeo and Juliet* and *Romeus and Juliet*, and having observed the difference in the quality of the poetry of their authors, would greatly differ about the meaning of the term as applied to Shakspeare's additions to his source. Munro is apparently so moved by the contrast created by this stylistic difference that he has allowed a certain extravagance to color his own description of it:³

Brooke's story meanders on like a listless stream in a strange and impossible land; Shakespeare's sweeps on like a broad and rushing river, singing and foaming, flashing in sunlight and darkening in cloud, carrying all things to where it irresistibly plunges over the precipice into a waste of waters below. A rapturous passion, expressed in a perfect lyricism, and reckless of all on earth that did not lend it glory and add to its greatness, sweeps through and pervades the play . . .

In other words, in addition to inserting a number of familiar lyric forms—the quatrain, the sestet, the sonnet, the aubade, the epithalamion, and others—Shakspeare infused into the whole structure of this play much of that poetic quality which is distinctive of the sonnets.

The purpose of the present paper is to draw attention to the presence in *Romeo and Juliet* of a lyric theme, hitherto, as well as I am aware, unremarked, extending from the first to the fifth act, and sufficiently variegated and expanded to constitute a significant unifying element in the play. More important, however, than this is the fact that Shakspeare utilizes, probably with design, the imagery and ideas which are repeated in elaborating this theme in order to supply the motivation which impels the hero to his final act of self-destruction, and that he thus establishes an intimate and organic connection between the poetry which envelops the play and the dramatic action of which it consists.

The theme pivots upon the simple figment that Death is rival to the lovers of Juliet. It is first sounded as an undertone at the end of Act One. As the guests are leaving the Capulet feast, Juliet adroitly questions the Nurse to learn Romeo's name, at length sends her after him to inquire, and while she is gone reflects that if Romeo be already married,

My grave is like to be my wedding bed. (I, v, 137.)

It does not occur again until Act Three, the whole of Act Two being devoted to the happy purpose of getting hero and heroine married; but when it reappears there, it has become clearer and more fully elaborated. Having learned of Romeo's banishment, Juliet laments her plight as she frustrately contemplates the "tackled stair" which her lover devised as a means to come to her:

... poor ropes, you are beguil'd,
Both you and I; for Romeo is exil'd;
He made you for a highway to my bed;
But I, a maid, die maiden-widow'd.
Come, cords, come, nurse; I'll to my wedding bed;
And death, not Romeo, take my maidenhead! (III, ii, 132-137.)

And in even more pathetic tones it recurs at the end of the same act. Here Juliet voices her last plea for mercy and for the delay of the nuptials for her and Paris:

O, sweet my mother, cast me not away!
 Delay this marriage for a month, a week;
 Or, if you do not, make the bridal bed
 In that dim monument where Tybalt lies. (III, v, 200-203.)

It is, however, in the fifth scene of Act Four that the details of the theme are most fully elaborated. Here Capulet, having beheld, as he thinks, the dead body of Juliet, bemoans to Paris their common loss:

O, son! the night before thy wedding day
 Hath Death lain with thy wife. There she lies,
 Flower as she was, deflowered by him.
 Death is my son-in-law, Death is my heir;
 My daughter he hath wedded: I will die,
 And leave him all; life, living, all is Death's. (IV, v, 35-40.)

Here, it is worth observing, Death usurps the place of the lover and bridegroom, Paris, and conquers the chastity of Juliet. Capulet's highly imaginative assertion is chiefly significant for the boldness of its imagery, but in another respect the passage is tied close to reality, for Juliet was his only child. In any event, this passage prepares the way for a similar employment of the theme as the play approaches its catastrophe. As he nears the climax of his elegiac soliloquy in the final scene, Romeo, mistaken, like Capulet, in thinking Juliet dead, wonders at the beauty of what he cannot know are the signs of returning animation:

Ah, dear Juliet,
 Why art thou yet so fair? Shall I believe
 That unsubstantial death is amorous,
 And that the lean abhorred monster keeps
 Thee here in dark to be his paramour?
 For fear of that, I still will stay with thee,
 And never from this palace of dim night
 Depart again; here, here will I remain
 With worms that are thy chamber-maids; O, here
 Will I set up my everlasting rest,
 And shake the yoke of inauspicious stars
 From this world-wearied flesh. (V, iii, 101-112.)

Here again Death is cast as the lover, but not as the bridegroom. Previous manifestations of this theme of the courtship of death contained allusions to a "wedding bed" or

"bridal bed" but that image is noticeably absent from this passage. Instead, Death is depicted in its characteristic medieval garb, a skin and skeleton figure, monstrous and loathsome, to whom no young and tender woman might be imagined to yield. The purpose which Romeo expresses somewhat earlier when Balthasar brings him the false tidings of his wife's death,

Well, Juliet, I will lie with thee tonight, (V, i, 34.)

is thus validated with a sound, if lyric reason. For, with such an image in his eye, no husband could do less than Romeo does to shield his beloved from the terrifying embraces of this dark ravisher, this "lean abhorred monster."

There is in Brooke's poem no hint of the imagery which constitutes the framework of this theme. On the face of it, it appears to be Shakspeare's work, though the figure is much after the pattern of a conceit such as one might expect to come upon in any Renaissance lyric. But whether Shakspeare obtained his ideas from sources other than those usually accepted for *Romeo and Juliet* remains to be demonstrated, and they may therefore be taken, for the present, to represent additions to his sources.

Since it is generally conceded that the careful analysis of Shakspeare's reasons for departing from his sources is one of the best approaches to the study of his art,⁴ this phenomenon, which, for want of a better terminology, I refer to as an example of lyric motivation,⁵ will perhaps repay a brief consideration. It is, of course, obvious that by means of such recurring imagery as the theme consists of, Shakspeare was bringing to bear upon the developing action of the plot a synthesizing force. At the same time, however, he was deeply conscious of the necessity arising from the very nature of the central passion of the play to express himself frequently in a highly emotional and figurative language which critics of the play have been pleased to describe as "lyric." He experienced also some difficulty in motivating suicide in this Christian play for a Christian audience; for yet in *Hamlet*, in order to commit suicide, one had to be "more an antique Roman than a Dane," (V, ii, 352). At the same time, thus; that Shakspeare suc-

ceeded in strengthening the motivation of his central character at a crucial point, he demonstrated the effectiveness of the principle of organic unity by creating a functional fusion of the lyric and the dramatic modes of expression.

*The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.*

¹E. K. Chambers, *Shakespeare: A Survey* (London, 1925), p. 69.

²Hazelton Spencer, *The Art and Life of Shakespeare*, (New York, 1940), p. 219.

³J. J. Munro, *Brooke's 'Romeus and Juliet'*, (New York, 1908), p. lix. It seems appropriate at this point to discuss the propriety of the use of the term *lyric* in the present context. It is used here partly because there seems to be no more exact or scientific term which might be substituted for it without adding to the difficulties, and partly because every responsible critic who has so far dealt with *Romeo and Juliet* has used the term freely to refer to just those things which it is here used to refer to. The one important assumption which underlies the use of the term above is that it refers to the type of imaginative utterance and poetic imagery which characterizes Romeo's elegiac soliloquy (V, iii, 74-120), and it may be pointed out that a number of critics of the play have specifically indicated that it is such poetry as this in particular which they refer to when they describe the play as *lyric*. (See, for example, Tucker Brooke, *et al.*, edd., *Shakespeare's Principal Plays*, [New York: Century, 1927, rev. ed.] p. 38, where MacCracken holds that this soliloquy is "perhaps the greatest speech of pure lyric passion in all Shakespeare." See also, Thomas Marc Parrott, *Shakespeare* [New York: Scribner's, 1938], p. 165.)

⁴Virgil K. Whitaker, "Shakespeare's Use of his Sources," *Philological Quarterly*, XX, 381-2,

⁵By lyric motivation I mean that a dramatic action, namely, the suicide of Romeo in this case, is motivated by an imagined situation which exists only in the poetic imagery of the play and which is proper only to what I hold to be a lyric frame of reference.

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William Shakspeare

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Against Money Lenders

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1946)

Compiled by

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

and

DOROTHY R. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books in the N. Y. Public Library and in the library of Columbia University, is a continuation of those published in the January issues of this Bulletin for some years past. Only those items have been listed which we thought contributed a new idea or a new fact. The names of female writers, if known, are distinguished by a colon after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year of publication is mentioned in connection with an item, 1946 is to be understood. The discussion of a book, as opposed to an edition, is indicated by printing the title within single quotes and omitting 'ed' after the contributor's name. The following abbreviations have been employed:

Amer	—American	M	—Magazine
Archiv	—Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen	MLN	—Modern Language Notes
B	—Bulletin	MLQ	—Modern Language Quarterly
Ba	—Baconiana	MLR	—Modern Language Review
bib	—bibliography	MP	—Modern Philology
Bl	—Blätter	NQ	—Notes & Queries
Bn	—Boston	NSN	—New Statesman & Nation
CE	—College English	OUP	—Oxford University Press
comp	—compiler	Oxf	—Oxford
CUP	—Cambridge University Press	P	—Press
CW	—Catholic World	PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n of America
d	—der, die, das, dem, &c.	port(s)	—portrait(s)
DNS	—Die neueren Sprachen	PQ	—Philological Quarterly
d(d)	—editor(s)	Pr	—Proceedings
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History	Q	—Quarterly
Elizn	—Elizabethan	QR	—Quarterly Review
Engl	—English, englische, &c.	R	—Review, Revue
ES	—Englische Studien	Repr	—Reprinted, reprints
fac(s)	—facsimile(s)	RES	—Review of English Studies
fr	—from	SAB	—Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
Fr	—French	Sh	—Shakespeare, Shakspeare, &c.
GR	—Germanic Review	Shn	—Shaksperian
Hist	—History, Historie, Histoire	Soc	—Society
HLQ	—Huntington Library Quarterly	SP	—Studies in Philology
il(s)	—illustration(s)	SRL	—Saturday Review of Literature
J	—Journal	TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly
JEGP	—Journal of English & Germanic Philology	TLS	—Times Literary Supplement
JHI	—Journal of the History of Ideas	tr	—Translator
Libr	—Library	trn	—translation
Lit	—Literature	u	—und
Ln	—London	U	—University
		UP	—University Press

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MUCH ADO ABOUT AN UNPLEASANT PLAY

By E. J. WEST

Which, labouring for invention, bear amiss
The second burthen of a former Child!

Sonnet LXIX

Spend'st thou thy fury on some worthless song,
Darkening thy power to lend base subjects light?

Sonnet C

Alas, 'tis true I have gone here and there,
And made myself a motley to the view,
Gor'd mine own thoughts, sold cheap what is most dear,
Made old offences of affections new;

Sonnet CX

Than public means which public manners breeds.

Sonnet CXI

One hesitates to submit himself to the accusation of prudery, but a long-seated sense of dissatisfaction with Shakspeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, usually—and to me strangely—included among the finest high or romantic comedies, forces me to warn the reader that the following remarks may partake too much of the peculiar distortion which must accompany the recording of impressionistic and personal reaction toward drama, even when the recorder is, like myself, an active practitioner in the theatre. I have tried honestly for years to induce in myself the conventional critical state of mind concerning this play, but I cannot get rid of a definite distaste for it as a whole, while admitting to a reluctant but wholehearted liking for parts of it. I have read the play slowly and carefully many times and seen at least one stage presentation of it, by a competent if not brilliant professional company, I might point out. I add the proviso of “if not brilliant,” because it is surely evident that many critics have been blinded to the foul odor (how the influence of the sane if muddled Dogberry does dog one's metaphors!) by the sweet fragrance of the Beatrice of a Helen Faucit or an Ellen Terry. Such was not my fortune: I saw the play honestly and adequately produced by the travelling troupe of the Stratford-on-Avon company in the early 1930's, and the plot, rather than some by-product of personality “stealing” on characterization or dialogue, came across the footlights to me.

The inescapable fascination of the character of Beatrice has caught hold of the susceptible and impressionable minds of scholars, and the inescapable fascination of the leading exponents of the character of Beatrice on the stage has caught hold of those more incorrigible impressionists, the dramatic critics, the result with both groups being a persistent failure to consider the play as a whole. Now that play is definitely a melodrama, and that melodrama is primarily concerned with the story of Hero and Claudio, Don Pedro and Don John. It is all very well for academic critics like the late and rosy-tinted Brander Matthews to talk about "this dark subplot," to rave over Beatrice's "forever overflowing" spirits, and to defend "Her plainness of speech, her frankness, her boldness" as "Elizabethan,"¹ but I am by necessity a producer, and I insist that it is impossible to present *Much Ado* as a play of which Beatrice and Benedick are the protagonists.

Leading actors and actresses, desirous of exhibiting themselves in these characters, naturally try to make the largest audience-appeal possible, and so cut the play to minimize the unpleasantness of the real main plot, but both as reader and as potential producer, I must accept the script as it has been given to me by the playwright. And that script definitely presents to me a plot centering about the unsavory business of Leonato's daughter and Don Pedro's favored follower, and no possible surgery upon the parts of the body of the play can be performed which will not leave the legs upon which it moves unamputated. One may, to be sure, if one will, cut in production those purely "bad jokes and obscenities," of which Beatrice herself is so noticeably guilty throughout; one may remove some of the rather crude and ill-tempered "mere foolish verbal trifling";² but cut the cathedral scene with the flouting of Hero by Claudio and you cut the legs off the body of the play, which will then no longer move, and only thus can the "brutality" and the "indelicacy already spoken of"³ be excised.

"Next among the things condemn'd by instinctive judgment," I echo Robert Bridges now at greater length, "I will name the readiness with which offences of the first

rank are sometimes overlook'd and pardon'd."⁴ Bridges, to be sure, found an "out" for Shakspeare in the vulgar tastes and demands of his audience; I have submitted in prefatory quotations certain passages from the author's undeniably personal and private expressions which might be interpreted as condoning or indeed lamenting his pandering to public taste. I, as one who if mistakenly will still perversely insist upon admiring the lightness and grace and graciousness of *Love's Labour's Lost*, with its forerunners of Beatrice and Benedick in Rosaline and Berowne (and incidentally, has it ever been sufficiently noted how much of Berowne's attractive sense of balance and proportion has been denied to Benedick through the exigencies of plot?), must equally insist that, "labouring for invention," Shakspeare has indeed "borne amiss the second burthen of a former Child"; I must insist that he has to large part "spent his fury on some worthless song, Darkening [his] power to lend base subjects light"; I must insist that he has "gored [his] own thoughts, sold cheap what is most dear," and at least "Made *new* offences of affections *old*"; and that he has too much submitted to the "public means which public manners breeds." And withal, albeit only a minor producer in an unnoted college theatre, I am not unmindful of the pungency of the comment in *Sonnet XIV* "That this huge stage presenteth nought but shows."

I would willingly, therefore, allow much for the tastes of Shakspeare's audiences, which a comparatively young man must needs have bowed to under the conditions of the Elizabethan stage, where no play could expect anything like a "long run," and a play must make its appeal immediately, but I must go further even than Bridges in his declaration that "The coarse terms in which Claudio repudiates Hero enfeeble the plot of *Much Ado*."⁵ My fault-finding, if not good criticism,⁶ points out that those "coarse terms" are typical, essential, characteristic, of the whole plot, are akin to the pure bawdiness of the conversation of all characters, including the private ones between Hero and Beatrice, are of a piece with the "sudden conversions" of Beatrice and Benedick, as well as of Claudio; and it further emphasizes that without the plot the play is invertebrate. From the point of view of a practising producer,

I declare that the contribution to the theatre which Shakspeare makes far more than does any subsequent dramatist in our language, is at its best the complete articulation of his plots, and articulation is produced in an organism by the arrangement about the skeleton, the backbone, the vertebrae.

This is pedantic, dogmatic, what you will, but it is not merely the prejudice of a moment of worldsickness, in which the peculiar offensiveness of *Much Ado* affects me personally; it is an estimate based upon the study of the play through many years, a study primarily seeking out the way so to produce the play honestly, at once preserving the brighter side and preventing the audience from being nauseated by the stronger, darker side. Such a production I have not been able to prepare. Is it possible that in the fine scene in V.1, with Leonato's honest lament, and Antonio's speech:

Hold you content. What, man! I know them, yea,
And what they weigh, even to th' utmost scruple,
Scambling, out-facing, fashion-monging boys,
That lie and cog and flout, deprave and slander,
Go antickly, show outward hideousness,
And speak out half a dozen dangerous words,

the dramatist himself offered his apology for the play, an apology which would support the contention that the faults of the play must be attributed to the tastes of the audience? I know not, I, although I certainly detect in the rhythm of the verse of the Leonato-Antonio scene a sincerity lacking in much of the prose of the rest of the play. This is a delicately poised balance of criticism, one's personal detection of sincerity in the rhythm of the verse, but increasingly both in the classroom and in the theatre I hold by its validity for *all* written composition, when properly interpreted by a trained voice. At all events, both Leonato and Antonio are sacrificed along with the figures of the main plot, with the frequently attractive leaders of the subplot (Beatrice and Benedick themselves), and even with the wholly heart-endearing Dogberry and Verges (of whom one might ask, with deepest meaning, "*Que faites-vous*

dans cette galère?"), to the demands of the plot. And that plot reeks to heaven of unsavoriness. If this be heresy, I willingly and wilfully align myself with such acute and knowledgeable Shaksperian heretics as Bernard Shaw, whose long antipathy toward this peculiarly venomous play is herein but echoed.

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¹Brander Matthews, *Shakspeare as a Playwright* (New York, 1923), pp. 152-156.

²Robert Bridges, *Collected Essays, Papers &c. I. The Influence of the Audience on Shakespeare's Drama* (London, 1927), p. 2. I am aware that only one of my quotations from Bridges was applied by him specifically to *Much Ado* or to its characters, but I submit as undeniable that he must have been thinking of Beatrice when he complained "the women are tainted."

³*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

⁶This is a deliberate echo of Bridges' first sentence.

WILLIAM SHAKSPERE*

By LEON HUHNER

As hangs the rainbow, with its colors bright,
A thing of beauty in the golden light,
And spreads its glorious canopy on high,
Far o'er the earth and yet beneath the sky,
In constant view, that all mankind may see
Its subtle splendor and its mystery,
So Shakspeare's genius, rich beyond compare,
Attracts attention by its beauty rare,
And makes us gaze upon its dazzling light,
And thrill with wonder and with keen delight.
Part child of earth and partly heaven's own,
The magic power belonged to him alone,
That in his work we see the soul divine,
Yet find humanity in every line.
High as the rainbow, never out of view,
Yet near enough to study every hue,
There was he placed to teach to every age,
The truths eternal writ on nature's page,
And like the rainbow, spanned by will divine,
To be to man a promise and a sign.

New York, N. Y.

291 Broadway

* Read at the annual dinner of the Shakespeare Association of America.

SOME SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SATIRE AGAINST MONEY LENDERS

By BURTON A. MILLIGAN

DURING the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a great deal of satire was directed against money lenders. Examination of this satire reveals several points of interest: (1) that, although some of this satire was directed at lending money even at legal interest rates, most of it condemned extortionate interest; (2) that the satire was widespread and bitter, reflecting a general hatred of usury; (3) that it was definitely conventionalized, whether it dealt with usurers, pawnbrokers, or goldsmiths; (4) that it found expression in every type of literature, from great literature to ephemeral popular writing—from *The Merchant of Venice* to the broadside ballads, from *The Jew of Malta* to the poems of John Taylor.

Much of the hatred and condemnation of usury in Tudor and Stuart times arose from disapproval of interest-taking of any sort. At least three powerful influences accounted for disapproval of even legalized interest: (1) the influence of the medieval Church, which had condemned completely the lending of money at interest;¹ (2) the strict Biblical injunctions against "usury," that is, interest;² and (3) the condemnation of interest by Aristotle.³ The importance of the first two of these influences is not likely to be underestimated by anyone, but that of the third may be. From Aristotle, however, came the idea, so popular in this period, that money must not breed money—an idea found in many literary references,⁴ but most memorable in the lines from *The Merchant of Venice* wherein Antonio comments upon Shylock's story of Jacob and the increase of the lambs, and is answered by Shylock:

Ant. This was a venture, sir, that Jacob serv'd for;
A thing not in his power to bring to pass,
But sway'd and fashion'd by the hand of heaven.
Was this inserted to make interest good?

Or is your gold and silver ewes and rams?
Sby. I cannot tell; I make it breed as fast.⁵

In spite of the undeniable survival of some of the old beliefs that any interest-taking was wrong, I am strongly inclined to think that most of the references to "usury" were to what is meant by "usury" today—that is, to extortionate interest. Historical evidence seems to be heavily in favor of this opinion. It is well to recall that interest-taking was legalized in England by an act approved in 1536, during the reign of Henry VIII. This act "simply recognized the new state of things, but by placing a limit [ten per cent] on the rate of interest that might be charged, it made a sort of compromise with the old traditional ideas on the subject."⁶ Indeed, if one may judge from legal documents and acts concerning interest, the real complaint was not with interest, but with unduly high interest rates. On June 10, 1600, the Privy Council asked investigation of the "unconscionable dealing" of Mathew Clarke, a merchant accused of usury, "though wee do not willinglie medle with matters of this sorte concerning debtes and private suites betweene men."⁷ In 1624 the legal rate was reduced to eight per cent, and in 1714 it was further reduced to five per cent.⁸ Incidentally, a casual reference by George Wither seems to me to give a good clew to the bulk of the literary satire against usury—in fact, to corroborate the opinion that the satirists were mainly attacking excessive interest-taking. "The damn'd usurers," he complained, in *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613), were

not content with Statute usury,
 A thousand other polling trickes they try;
 Increasing their lewd gaines by bribes and gifts,
 And many viler and more lawlesse shifts.⁹

Bacon, in his essay "Of Usurie," accepted this point of view: "For since there must be Borrowing and Lending, and Men are so hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, Usury must be permitted." He merely offered the reasonable suggestion that the rate of "Usury, in generall, be reduced to Five in the Hundred."¹⁰ To me, it seems clear that few satirists aimed their attacks at lenders who took merely "statute usury."

It must be stated, however, that preachers, unlike satirists and writers generally, condemned *any* interest-taking, which to them was synonymous with usury. Their arguments were usually heavily theological and dependent upon Biblical authority. Thomas Lever, in a sermon delivered at St. Paul's, February 2, 1550, deplored the legalization of usury: "Yea, but what shall we then say by usurye, whyche is nowe made so nawefull that an offyicer yf he would, can not punysh, to make men to leaue it?" *Deuteronomy*, xv, and *Matthew*, v, tell us, said Lever, that we are to "lend to hym that nedeth, and wold borowe"; moreover, *Luke*, vi, 35, tells us to lend without thought of gain. God's law provides punishment for usury, even if man's does not.¹¹ In a sermon preached before Parliament at Westminster and published in 1585, Archbishop Sandys had much the same point of view:

That biting worm of usury, that devouring wolf, hath consumed many: many it hath pulled upon their knees, and brought to beggary; many such as might have lived in great wealth, and in honour not a few. This canker hath corrupted all England. We shall do God and our country true service by taking away this evil. Repress it by law; else the heavy hand of God hangeth over us and will strike us.¹²

At the approximate date of Archbishop Sandys' sermon, Henry Smith preached two sermons on "The Examination of Usury." He defined usury in such manner as to make clear that he considered interest-taking to be usury:

Usury is that gain which is gotten by lending, for the use of a thing which a man lendeth, covenanting before with the borrower to receive more than was borrowed; and therefore one calls the usurer a legal thief, because before he steal, he tells the party how he will steal, as though he stole by law.

Usury, Smith asserted, is opposed to the law of charity, the law of nations, the law of nature, and the law of God. The usurer's soul is certain to be damned eternally.¹³ Another preacher, Thomas Adams, was also the militant enemy of usury. Usury, he said, "is a teeming thing, euer with childe, pregnant, and multiplying: money is an unfruitful thing by nature, made only for commutation: it is a *praeternatural* thing, it should engender money..."¹⁴ The

usurer was worse than a thief: "Theeues steale sometimes, vsurers alwayes." The villainous money lenders ruined young gentlemen "newly broke out of the cage of wardship." Borrowers were partly to blame, although they were not always to be condemned: "I will not tax euerie borrower: it is lawfull to suffer injury, though not to offer it."¹⁵ Scriptural authority proved that usurers were mad:

Slaünder him not for one of Bedlam: yet he is madde, rauing, roaring madde; and that by the verdict of God in the penne of Solomon: *Eccl.* 7. Surely oppression maketh a man madde. It is indeed a thriuing occupation. Usurie is like that Persian Tree, that at the same time buddes, blossomes, and beares fruit. The moneyes of interest are euermore, som ripe for the Trunke, others drawing to maturity, the rest in the flowre approaching: all in the bud of hope. But he is mad; for his sinne at once buds, blossomes, and brings forth the fruit of vengeance.¹⁶

For the purpose of examining the satire against usurers and others accused of usury, it will be convenient to divide the following discussion into four sections: (1) satire against usurers, (2) satire against brokers, (3) satire against goldsmiths, and (4) satire against grain hoarders and speculators.

1. *Satire Against Usurers*

Satirical references to usurers fall into two general groups. In one, by far the larger, the satire is general; here hatred, contempt, and ridicule of the usurer are expressed, but particular indictments are lacking. In the other, the writers give many specific details concerning the rogueries of the usurer, his personal characteristics, dress, appearance, etc.

The general satire is significant for its volume and its virulence. A few examples will illustrate its character. According to Stubbes, the usurer was "worse than a thief," worse than hell, death, or the devil.¹⁷ Nashe, in an impassioned address to "You Usurers and Engrossers of Corne," in *Christs Teares over Jerusalem* (1593), wrote:

By your hoording up of gold and graine tyll it is mouldy, rusty, Moath-eaten, and almost infects the ayre with the stincke, you have

taught God to hoord up your iniquities and transgressions, tyll mouldinesse, putrifaction, and mustinesse enforceth hym to open them: and being opened, they so poyson the ayre with theyr ill savour, that from them proceedeth thys perrilsome contagion.¹⁸

Usurers, wrote the anonymous author of *A Defence of Conny catching* (1592), are "like Vultures that pray upon the spoyle of the poore."¹⁹ John Taylor's *The Sculler's Travels* (1612) characterized the usurer as

The gaping, greedie, griping Usurer,
The sonne of Hell, and Sathan's treasurer.²⁰

In his *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614), Taylor wrote again in the same vein:

Let usurers bragge of conscience what they can,
They liue like deuils, upon the bane of man.²¹

Richard Brathwaite, in part of a long tirade against usury in *A Strappado for the Divell* (1615), wrote:

O usurie
That art the Cities scourge, how much have we
Occasion to proscribe thee from our land.²²

Solemn warning against the usurer is given in "A New Merry Ballad I Have Here" (1629):

Take heed how you come,
into the Usurer's jaws:
Their gripes are more fearfull
than Eagles clawes.²³

The volume of general satire against the usurer is too great to permit further quotation, but the citations just given are typical.

Proverbs expressive of the public attitude toward usurers are worthy of mention. Two of James Howell's *Proverbs* (1659) have to do with usurers. One says, "Usurers' purses and women's plackets are never satisfied." The other puns upon the word *condition*: "An Usurer is

one that tormenteth men for their good condition [that is, for the conditions of their bonds].'²⁴

The dishonesties attributed to usurers, besides the obvious one of charging extortionate and illegal interest, were: advancing part of their loans in worthless and unsalable commodities, instead of in money; preying upon young heirs and prospective heirs by inducing them to execute ruinous notes and mortgages; foreclosing without warning or pity.

Numerous references specify just how extortionate usurers' rates of interest were. The evidence of these references is that rates of from thirty to forty per cent a year, and even higher, were not uncommon. A typical reference is found in the Jonson-Marston-Chapman play *Eastward Ho* (1605) when Security, the usurer, says that he "and such other men as live by lending money, are content with moderate profits; thirty or forty i' th' hundred, so we have it with quietness, and out of peril of wind and weather."²⁵ Hake spoke of rates "oftentimes" being fifty per cent:

Ten powndes in hundred, nothing is,
and twentie is but small.
For halfe in halfe full oftentimes
in loane among doth fall.²⁶

The usurers' device of advancing part of their loans in commodities was a trick which had the two-fold purpose of avoiding the usury laws and at the same time multiplying profits. This type of fraud was carried out as follows: The borrower, desperately in need of money, was persuaded to take part of the loan in some commodity, such as cloth or paper. The valuation put upon this commodity by the usurer was, of course, greater than its actual value, and here he netted his first profit. Then the unfortunate borrower, faced with the necessity of turning the commodity into cash, was forced to sell it at its real value or less—perhaps for half the usurer's evaluation. Again the usurer preyed upon his original victim by buying the goods back, usually through an agent. The final roguery consisted of the usurer's demanding payment of the note as soon as it

became obvious that the borrower was too heavily involved to be able to pay it. When no payment was forthcoming, the borrower was clapped into a debtors' prison. Thus, the usurer profited three ways: by overcharging for the commodity, by buying it back at far less than its real value, and by collecting extortionate interest on the note. This trick is mentioned frequently, particularly in the plays of the time. There is, for example, a familiar reference in *Measure for Measure*. The clown Pompey, entering a room in the prison, says: "First, here's young Master Rash. He's in for a commodity of brown paper and old ginger, nine score and seventeen pounds; of which he made five marks ready money."²⁷ This type of trickery with commodities is also well illustrated in Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* (1607). Quomodo, the usurer, brings Easy within his toils, advances a loan of two hundred pounds in commodity (this time cloth), buys it back for sixty pounds, and gloats over his success: "First have I caught him in a bond for two hundred pound; and my two hundred pounds worth o' cloth bought again for three score pound. Admire me, all you students at inns of cozenage."²⁸ Incidentally, a passage in this play exemplifies the charge that usurers deliberately encouraged prospective victims to live riotously and fall into debt. Quomodo instructs Shortyard how to lead Easy on:

Observe, take surely note of him: he's fresh and free: shift thyself speedily into the shape of gallantry: I'll swell thy purse with angels. Keep foot by foot with him, outdare his expenses, flatter, dice, and brothel with him; give him a sweet taste of sensuality; train him to every wasteful sin, that he may quickly need health, but especially money . . .²⁹

Joseph Hall's *Virgidemiarum* (1598), Book IV, Satire 5, gives a complete expose of this use of commodities. Favorite commodities, according to Hall, were "fusted hoppes" and "mo'ld browne-paper."³⁰ An idea of the extent of the loss suffered by some of the victims may be secured from Edward Guilpin's "To Candidus" (1598):

He is a gull, that for commoditie
Payes tenne times ten, and sells the same for three.³¹

The way in which usurers preyed upon heirs, prospective heirs, and young prodigals is repeatedly satirized. John Taylor, in *A Brood of Cormorants*, wrote bitterly of usurers:

Their powder is the Inke that from them runs,
And this dank powder hath blowne up more men
In one yeare, then gun powder hath in ten.
Bills are their weapons, parchments are their shields,
With which they win whole Lordships, towns, & fields.³²

Usurers were accused by Dekker, in *The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London* (1606), of bringing "yong Novices into a fooles Paradiice till they have sealed the Morgage of their landes."³³ *Conceits, Clinches, Flashes, and Whimzies* (1639) asserts that "usurers live . . . by the fall of heires, like swine by the dropping of acorns."³⁴ The playwrights, of course, gave numerous descriptions of the usurers at their game of entangling prodigals. Shafton, for instance, in Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603), tries this trick.³⁵ Security, in *Eastward Ho* (1605), is able, with the wily aid of Quicksilver, to persuade Gertrude Touchstone to set her hand to the sale of her inheritance.³⁶ Sir Giles Overreach, in Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (c. 1626), tries to ruin Master Frugal in this manner.³⁷ Scrapeall, in Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688), with his accomplices, Cheatley and Shamwell, is an example of the money-lender who cheats young heirs by getting them to give judgments against their estates in return for money and commodities. The extent of the cheat in this particular instance is indicated by one of the speeches of the victim, Bel-fond Senior:

Oh, rogues! Cousin [Shamwell], you have cozened me; you made a put, a caravan, a bubble of me. I gave a judgment for £1600 and had but 250, but there's some goods they talk of.³⁸

There is considerable ridicule of the appearance, dress, and personal habits of usurers. It was conventional to picture the usurer as dirty, ill-dressed, physically repugnant, and penurious.³⁹ "His diet is either fasting or poor fare, his clothing the hangman's wardrobe," wrote Nicholas Breton, in his character "An Usurer" (1616).⁴⁰ The typical

usurer is described in Rowlands' *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine* (1600) as having a "narrow brow," "Squrell eyes," and a large nose.⁴¹ "His jacket is faced with motheaten Budge";⁴² his gown is threadbare; he is "a sparing whorson in attire and diet."⁴³ The typical usurer even begrudged his servants sufficient food and drink; so asserts the little pamphlet *The Generous Usurer* (1641).⁴⁴ Richard Middleton, in "In Foeneratorem" (1608), wrote a vivid description of the penurious usurer as the satirists saw him:

Old Foenerator is so miserable,
That with his usurie he will keep no table:
But all day long scouring his swords from rust,
He gnawes the sinewes of some offell crust.
Marrie, 'tis proper to himselfe, for he gnawes
Th' arttries of men by his extorting lawes;
That if he leave not gnawing, 'tis in doubt
The fiend will gnaw his bones within and out.⁴⁵

Also expressive of the more or less conventionalized belief in the usurer's miserliness is the following passage from Thomas Middleton's *The Black Book* (1604):

A usurer to crye bread and meat is not a thing impossible; for indeed your greatest usurer is your greatest beggar, wanting as well that which he hath as that which he hath not; then who can be a greater beggar? He will not have his house smell like a cook's shop, and therefore takes an order no meat shall be dressed in it; and because there was an house upon Fish-street-hill burnt to the ground once, he can abide by no means to have a fire in his chimney ever since.⁴⁶

"Fox-furred" was a favorite epithet in the description of usurers. It was used in reference to the gowns that they wore, and at the same time was obviously a figurative reference to their slyness. Marston spoke of the "fox-furr'd Mecho," guilty of "damn'd usury."⁴⁷ Rowlands flayed the usurer as a "Fur-gowned slave";⁴⁸ Middleton referred to "an usurer's fusty furred jacket."⁴⁹ In *Measure for Measure*, there is a reference to the usurer's gown "furr'd with fox and lambskins, too"⁵⁰—an obvious play on words as far as "lambskins" is concerned.

Without specific evidence, one might suspect that the conventionalized picture of the usurer's stinginess and shabbiness was somewhat overdrawn. This suspicion is partly substantiated by references in two plays, Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* and Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. In one passage of *The Jew of Malta*, Marlowe seems to be ridiculing the trite literary descriptions of the usurer. It is in the scene in which Ithamore, turned traitor to his master Barabas, is overheard describing Barabas to Pilia-Borsa:

Itha. 'Tis a strange thing of that Jew, he lives upon pickled grasshoppers and sauc'd mushrooms.

Bar. (Aside) What a slave's this? The governor feeds not as I do.

Itha. He never put on a clean shirt since he was circumcis'd.

Bar. (Aside) O rascal! I change myself twice a day.

Itha. The hat he wears, Judas left under the alder when he hang'd himself.

Bar. (Aside) 'T was sent me for a present from the great Cham.⁵¹

Similarly, in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, Massinger makes a sharp distinction between the threadbare usurer who

wears a cloak of one and twenty years

Or a suit of fourteen groats, bought of the hangman,
and Sir Giles Overreach, the wealthy usurer, who is described as

Rich in habit, vast in his expenses.⁵²

A final traditional element in the description of usurers—not a pleasant one—was the assertion that they were Jews. If the satirists are to be believed, and not regarded as reflecting the intolerance and hatred of the time, Shylock and Barabas were only exaggerated examples of the typical Jewish usurer. In Brome's play *The Antipodes* (1638) one finds a typical reference. Diana asks:

Then they have Usurers in th' Antipodes too?
and Letory answers:

Yes, Usury goes round the world, and will doe,
Till the general conversion of the Jewes.⁵³

A list of some of the usurers characterized in the drama of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not without significance. The list, of course, makes no pretence to completeness and can no doubt be expanded by many students of the drama of this period. It includes the following characters: Barabas, in *The Jew of Malta*; Shylock, in *The Merchant of Venice*; Shafton, in Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*; Security, in the Jonson-Chapman-Marlowe *Eastward Ho*; Quomodo, in Middleton's *Michaelmas Term*; Dampit and Gulf, in Middleton's *A Trick to Catch the Old One*; Cacafofo, in Fletcher's *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*; Sir Giles Overreach, in Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*; Luke Frugal, in Massinger's *The City Madam*; and Quicksands, in Brome's *The English Moor*; or *The Mock Marriage*. Not only the number of usurers portrayed in important and representative plays, but also the choice of such names as Security, Dampit, Gulf, Frugal, and Quicksands, would seem to indicate the dislike of usurers and usury in this period.

(To be continued)

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ACCIDENTAL JUDGMENTS, CASUAL
SLAUGHTERS, AND PURPOSES MISTOOK:
CRITICAL REACTIONS TO SHAKSPERE'S
HENRY THE FIFTH

By PAUL A. JORGENSEN

IN ONE of the calmest remarks ever made upon Shakspeare's *Henry V*, A. H. Tolman affirms: "I believe that Shakespeare is irritated by the smallness and the inadequate equipment of the stage in presenting his 'Henry V' because he wishes to idealize and glorify his hero."¹ Holinshed, like Shakspeare, had felt the difficulty of doing justice to Henry V's greatness. Speaking of certain of that monarch's virtues, he confesses: "Were it not that by his acts they did plainlie appeare, hard were it by words to make them credible."² Although Shakspeare was trammelled in depicting dramatic action, he did not have Holinshed's trouble with words. And probably on behalf of no other character has he used words so lavishly and so eagerly in praise.

A large part of the first scene of *Henry V* is devoted to eulogies by two churchmen, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely. The prelates ascribe to Henry every virtue and faculty of the complete monarch — "the mirror of all Christian kings," as he is later called. Suggesting Shakspeare's anxiety to proclaim fully the greatness of his hero is the dramatic prematureness of this panegyric, as well as other passages of praise; exposition outdistances the action. Not only the churchmen, but representatives of almost all human types appearing in the play praise the king. Gower, typical of the king's captains, exclaims (upon not too worthy a basis), "O, 'tis a gallant king!" (IV, vii, II).³ Pistol, most eloquent representative of the least reputable element in the army, speaks words of praise for Henry to the disguised king himself; he calls him "a heart of gold" and exclaims that he loves the "lovely bully" (IV, i, 44-8). Even the French opposition, who have little reason either to like or to respect Henry, are utilized by Shak-

sphere in the general chorus of acclamation. The Constable of France, most rational of the French nobility, insists to his fellows upon Henry's majesty, his modesty, his resolution, his discretion, and his complete reformation (II, iv, 32). The French king proclaims his fears of the English monarch before Henry has given him sufficient cause for anxiety:

let us fear
The native mightiness and fate of him.
(II, iv, 63-4)

Such unanimous and uncoerced assent toward a character's magnificence is virtually unique in the Shaksperian drama.

The playwright's attempt to glorify Henry V is especially interesting in the light of its results. *Henry V* is one of the very few plays wherein Shakspeare clearly commits himself by stating his dramatic purpose and by constantly labeling his protagonist. Exposition of the sort we long for vainly in *Hamlet* is here needlessly abundant. It will therefore be possible to inquire how well Shakspeare's intentions were realized. My particular business in this paper will be to study critical reaction to the character of Henry and to evaluate it in view of Shakspeare's intentions.

Among the writings of early critics very few "character studies" of Henry are to be found. A few of the best critics virtually passed the play, as well as its hero, by. Doctor Johnson, except for the scene telling of Falstaff's death, found worthy of sustained comment only the courtship episode, and this he condemned as vulgar and inappropriate to the character of the king. Coleridge, perhaps because he found nothing of himself in the role, had little of significance to say of Henry V. Carlyle, on the other hand, may have seen his own strenuous ideals attractively embodied in the monarch, for he gives the play and its hero unusual prominence in his essay on Shakspeare as the poet-hero. He finds a "noble Patriotism" in the play, "far other than the 'indifference' you sometimes hear ascribed to Shakspeare."⁴

Of the sustained evaluations of Henry V's character,

Hazlitt's is the most famous, not only because of its vivacity but because of the brilliance of its abuse. Most of Hazlitt's dislike for Henry may be accounted for by the critic's democratic principles; for, after a long introductory paragraph of sarcasm and invective against war and autocracy, Hazlitt amicably announces, "So much for the politics of this play; now for the poetry,"⁵ and enters happily upon an appreciation. This portion of the essay is concentrated upon the play's "beauties," but a few kind words are included for Henry personally:

The behaviour of the king, in the difficult and doubtful circumstances in which he is placed, is as patient and modest as it is spirited and lofty in his prosperous fortune⁶

Though Hazlitt's witty strictures upon Henry's militancy and ferocity are unusually telling, Hazlitt is certainly not what he is sometimes said to be, the unkindest of commentators upon Shakspeare's hero king.⁷

Mr. John Palmer is a modern critic who, like Hazlitt, is interested in Henry's political nature. He devotes some of his finest irony to what is virtually a present-day exposé of Henry V as hypocrite and shady politician. Mr. Palmer makes devastating use of the discovery that Henry, having given his ultimatum to France before conferring with the prelates of the Church, actually "was not seeking spiritual or legal advice on a step to be taken; he was inviting moral approbation for a *fait accompli*."⁸ Mr. Palmer's comment is noteworthy in that only an unusually careful reader of the play would be likely to discover this discrepancy; and even should he discover it, he would be apt to ignore it in the air of manifest sincerity pervading the scene. Mr. Palmer's wit is pre-eminently effective in his commentary upon one of the most solemn of Henry's speeches in *2 Henry IV*. The prince, holding the crown of his supposedly dead father, speaks the beautiful lines, "O polish'd perturbation! golden care. . . ." According to Mr. Palmer, "he studies here the attitude of public persons in all times and places who, in assuming power, profess to be taking up a burden which they would gladly avoid and sigh without sincerity for the treasure of the humble."⁹ Mr. Palmer

thoroughly enjoys the courtship scene at the end of *Henry V*, but for a reason that Shakspeare could scarcely have intended. The critic sees in Henry's wooing of Katherine "just those characteristics which are most admired in the legendary Englishman": an ability to jest good-humoredly with one's enemy—when the enemy is beaten, and the generosity of offering "a sound heart to a fair lady—when her dowry is assured."¹⁰ Such applause surely would not have been welcomed by Shakspeare, who was intent upon depicting "the mirror of all Chrian kings."

Mr. Palmer and, to a less extent, Hazlitt are representative of a small group of critics who gratefully find Shakspeare's Henry V not witty in himself, but the cause that wit is in other men.

In another group of critics, strong resentment and anger toward Henry are mainly evident. If these critics are witty, their real aim is not to amuse. Mr. Bernard Shaw, who might not be unwilling to serve as spokesman for the group, is distressed to find in Shakspeare's hero a dramatic embodiment of that which he has devoted his life to rebuking. "The combination," he writes of Henry, "of conventional propriety and brute masterfulness in his public capacity with a low-lived blackguardism in his private tastes is not a pleasant one." Henry, to him, typifies "an able young Philistine inheriting high position and authority, which he holds on to and goes through with by keeping a tight grip on his conventional and legal advantages, but who would have been quite in his place if he had been born a game-keeper or a farmer. . . ."¹¹ W. B. Yeats is likewise alienated by Henry's "gross vices" and "coarse nerves," and he suspects Shakspeare of having made this monarch a vessel of clay to counterbalance Richard II, his vessel of porcelain.¹² Frank Harris is another who denounces Shakspeare's royal hero for his barbarism, his lack of sensitivity, and his manliness. Henry, according to Harris, "shows as in a glass Shakespeare's poverty of conception when he is dealing with the distinctively manly qualities."¹³ His feeling against the king reaches actual resentment and exclamatory force: "The puppet is not even human: mere wood!"¹⁴ But much of Harris's ill-will arises from the demands of his thesis:

The Man Shakespeare is a sustained plea for us to read Shakspeare's sensitive, feminine soul into his greatest human creations. Henry V is a personage singularly inaccessible to the thesis.

Most denunciatory of this group of frankly hostile critics is John Masefield. Like most of the others, he accuses Henry of masculinity, emotional and intellectual insensitivity, and, in general, a personality unlike that of Hamlet. To these, he adds the significant charge of "success and worldly happiness,"¹⁵ an accusation, to judge from similar reactions of other critics, more serious than those of militancy, gross vices, and aristocracy.¹⁶ To Masefield may also be credited perhaps the least relevant stricture ever made against the character of Henry: "When he learns that his behaviour may have lost him the crown, he passes a sponge over his past and fights like a wildcat for the right of not having to work for a living."¹⁷

We turn now to the most interesting and troublesome of the commentaries. Dowden is one of the earliest and foremost of a group of critics whose utterances upon the character of Shakspeare's Henry V suggest a divided, basically unstable attitude. His eulogies of the king are justly famous and vie with Shakspeare's own in their lyricism. "Through his union with the vital strength of the world," he writes of Henry, "he becomes one of the world's most glorious and beneficent forces."¹⁸ Possibly Shakspeare, who pictured crouching at Henry's heels the unamiable train of "famine, sword, and fire," would not have identified his hero in Dowden's encomium. But he would have recognized an enthusiasm kindred to his own in it, as well as in the phrases, "his heroic greatness" and "the light of splendid achievement in his eyes."¹⁹

The real difficulty arising from Dowden's comments is in reconciling the ardent appreciation of such passages with conclusions that are coolly restrained. Consider the dampening effect of the word *practical* and of the phrase *will not fail* in the following sentences:

But it is clear and unquestionable that King Henry V is

Shakespeare's ideal of the *practical* heroic character. He is the king who will not fail. He will not fail as the saintly Henry VI failed, nor as Richard II failed, a hectic, self-indulgent nature, a mockery king of pageantry and sentiment and rhetoric . . .²⁰

In spite of the general inclination toward praise in this passage, Dowden clearly does not like a "*practical* heroic character; nor does he hold as his own ideal a hero "who will not fail." What is more, he does not wish such a character to be Shakspeare's ideal:

But is this practical, positive, efficient character, with his soldier-like piety and his jolly fashion of wooing, is this the highest ideal of our supreme poet?²¹

The epithets *practical*, *positive*, *efficient*, *soldier-like*, and *jolly*—inherently not abusive—here take on the force almost of "snarl words."

In R. G. Moulton the split in vision is so subtle as to be scarcely noticeable. Unlike Dowden, he can contrast Henry with a less "practical," "efficient," and "successful" personage with inferences prejudicial to the patriot king. Comparing character-development in *Macbeth* with that in *Henry V*, Moulton is strangely successful in concealing personal preferences. If the reader of Moulton's remarks concludes that Macbeth is the more interesting and likable person because he develops throughout the play and is responsive to painful instruction from life, the reader rather than Moulton is responsible. Unfortunately, however, Moulton could not forbear the luxury of one sentence bright with irony. Speaking of the traitors Cambridge, Scroop, and Grey, he observes that they "have grace enough to long for their death; and Henry, who has no weakness, not even the weakness of mercy, dismisses them to their fate."²² A striking, though brief observation, the sentence vitiates the carefully achieved detachment of the total analysis. The momentary glimpse of Moulton's personal dislike is sufficient. Perhaps he himself did not fully acknowledge the attitude, yet the severity of the sentence indicates his resentment—already noticed in other critics—toward Henry's efficiency, his impenetrable armor.

A. C. Bradley presents another arresting example of

the critical difficulty under consideration. A judicious and imaginative interpreter of Shakspeare's great tragic heroes and of Coriolanus, Bradley fails to achieve his habitual steadiness of vision when he views Henry V. He writes in his famous essay on Falstaff:

Shakespeare has made Henry, on the whole, a fine and very attractive character . . .

Both as prince and as king he is deservedly a favourite, and particularly so with English readers, being, as he is, perhaps the most distinctively English of all Shakespeare's men.²³

A peculiarly fervent denunciation follows, virtually splitting the essay in two. Bradley will not allow even the modest truth of Dowden's contention that, as Bradley phrases it, Henry is Shakspeare's "ideal man of action." "The poet," he insists,

who drew Hamlet and Othello can never have thought that even the ideal man of action would lack that light upon the brow which at once transfigures them and marks their doom . . . Even poor Timon, the most inefficient of the tragic heroes, has something in him that Henry never shows. Nor is it merely that his nature is limited: if we follow Shakespeare and look closely at Henry, we shall discover with the many fine traits a few less pleasing.

These "less pleasing" traits unluckily happen to be quite sufficient to alienate one's sympathies: Henry is his father's son, and has "a readiness to use other people as a means to his own ends"; furthermore, "there is no sign in him of a strong affection for any one. . . ."²⁴ The bases for Bradley's antipathy for Henry are easily visible in the foregoing strictures, and readers of *Shakespearean Tragedy* will instantly recognize their seriousness.

Like Dowden and Bradley, J. W. Cunliffe fails to view Henry V calmly and impersonally. The concluding sentence to Cunliffe's study of Shakspeare's hero-king is an encomium and suggests a strong conclusion to a eulogistic address: "It is his common humanity that endears him to us, his plain-speaking, his good-humor, and his practical common-sense."²⁵ Indeed, this eloquent tribute represents the conclusion toward which Cunliffe had wished to move and at which, apparently, he thought he had properly

arrived. An attentive reader of the essay, however, does not arrive with him. The reader has been waylaid by compelling stray remarks in Cunliffe's exposition. For example:

It must be confessed that to a modern taste Henry's sallies of wit, whether as prince or king, are not of the most refined sort. He has a love for that most detestable kind of joke called practical; and his wooing of Katherine, though full of humor and a certain bluff overbearing hilarity, has nothing princely about it.²⁶

That the reluctance of this "confession" is only specious is indicated by the severity of the vocabulary and the eagerness of the rebuke. A "modern taste" is evidently Cunliffe's own. Further, the "common humanity" and "modesty" of the concluding tribute merely call to mind an earlier and more fervent interpretation:

With his boon companions Henry never forgets that he is a prince, and he does not let his companions forget it for long . . . Even in his most expansive moments there is a touch of condescension. We might like him better if he were more genuinely open-hearted, but Shakespeare has not so represented him.²⁷

"Practical common-sense" recalls the following:

He is not troubled, any more than a modern capitalist on the eve of a great undertaking, with moral misgivings; he accepts the law as it is expounded by traditional authorities, all the more readily, no doubt, because it falls in with his own inclinations and interests.²⁸

It would seem that Cunliffe had an irrepressible, though perhaps only dimly recognized, dislike for the man whom he formally extolls in the concluding sentence of his essay; and this dislike, restricted in expression to comments slanting from the main discourse, is more evident than his deliberate praise.

It would be possible to list other examples of imperfect sympathies for Shakspeare's Henry V, most of which have led to subtly incoherent criticism. The instances cited in this paper are unusual in that they are probably the most interestingly expressed and because they are the work of eminent writers.

G. L. Kittredge's introduction to *Henry V* is note-

worthy in another respect. The late Harvard scholar cannily ignored in this case all problems involving emotion and consequently said very little about character interpretation. Those judgments concerning the personality of Henry which he permitted himself may well represent the maximum possible for any critic who wishes to avoid the embarrassment of bringing himself into the picture.

Among the conclusions suggested by this survey, the most obvious is that a significant difference exists between Shakspeare's professed intentions and the reactions of many estimable critics. The hero whom he studiously attempted to "idealize and glorify"²⁹ has been ridiculed, hated, or imperfectly liked by many critics. To all appearances Shakspeare sought to depict him as pious, idealistic, learned, thoughtful, sensitive to the opinion of his subjects, and endowed with a common humanity. His critics are repelled by his "gross vices," his snobbery, his efficiency and successfulness, his imperviousness to thought and emotion — in general, his worldliness.

It is doubtful whether this sharp hiatus between artistic purpose and response — singularly unusual for Shakspeare — can be explained by the difference in temperament between the people of Shakspeare's era and those of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The growth of democracy might make us less idolatrous toward God's anointed ruler, and the trend toward pacifism might dampen our enthusiasm for any war of aggression. But Shakspeare makes Henry as sensitive as any modern to the realistic nature of warfare; and in giving majesty to his hero, the poet does not in this case depend so heavily upon birth as he had done in *Richard II*, for the virtues attributed to Henry should have exalted him even had he been of the commonalty. Furthermore, if we insist upon a changed attitude toward democracy and warfare, how shall we explain the fact that Coriolanus, most autocratic and militant of Shakspeare's heroes, has suffered only a fraction of Henry's infamy?

The popular success of Lawrence Olivier's recent film version of *Henry V* and the admiration accorded the personality of its hero suggest that dislike for the king might be almost confined to poets, scholars, and other intellectuals

who have not witnessed or conceived the play as a dynamic spectacle. Furthermore, the popular audiences of today, particularly in America, are not, like intellectuals, alienated by low-comedy courtship scenes, practical jokes, successful business men, and happy endings.

Notwithstanding, the judicious have been grieved, resentful, and bewildered; a few have been led to irrelevant cleverness rather than to the accurate interpretation which is their wont: possibly not all the fault should be laid upon the critic. Shakspeare's was the self-imposed task, in a sense, of justifying a god to man. Specifically he tried to justify a radiant, triumphant, transfigured hero in terms comprehensible to his unregenerate fellows. Those unregenerate souls included not only the soldiers Bates and Williams, but the ghosts of Falstaff and Hotspur. The task was manifestly impossible. Just as Milton was to make his anti-perfectionist elements too grandly human, so Shakspeare instinctively had made his unregenerate men compellingly real. Shakspeare's allegiance, therefore, may well have been as sharply divided as that of some of his critics. Consciously, as the choral proclamations testify, he sought to glorify Henry. But the artist in him may have failed to comply, offering panegyric instead of the reality. Even the poetry formally eulogizing the king is, as Mr. Mark Van Doren has noted in his brilliant strictures, apt to be labored.³⁰

Doctor Johnson observed that "not even *Shakespeare* can write well without a proper subject."³¹ May not the critics be forgiven if they have failed to interpret satisfactorily a hero whom his dramatic creator sketched with uncertain hand?

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¹ "The Epic Character of 'Henry V.' In *Falstaff and Other Shakespearean Topics* (N. Y., 1925), p. 55.

² *Holinshead's Chronicles As Used in Shakespeare's Plays*, ed. A. Nicoll (London, 1927), p. 89.

³ All Shakspeare references are to the *Complete Works*, ed. G. L. Kittredge (N. Y., 1936).

⁴ Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero Worship and the Heroic in History* (London, 1935), p. 144.

⁵ William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespear's Plays* (London, 1906), p. 158.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁷ Mr. John Hobart, to take a very recent example, is convinced that Hazlitt "positively hated Henry V," *San Francisco Chronicle: This World*, "Drama," November 17, 1946.

⁸ John Palmer, *Political Characters of Shakespeare* (London, 1945), p. 224.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

¹¹ G. Bernard Shaw, *Dramatic Opinions* (London, 1906), vol. i, p. 426.

¹² W. B. Yeats, *Ideas of Good and Evil* (London, 1903), 155ff.

¹³ Frank Harris, *The Man Shakespeare* (London, 1909), p. 92.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

¹⁵ John Masefield, *William Shakespeare* (N. Y., 1911), 11 ff.

¹⁶ M. C. Ridley, for example, joins with a "limited spiritual range" "unmitigatedly efficient and successful in practical achievement," as though the two were closely akin and equally serious. *Shakespeare's Plays* (N. Y., 1938), pp. 112-13.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.* 111 ff.

¹⁸ Edward Dowden, *Shakspeare, a Critical Study of His Mind and Art* (N. Y., 1918), p. 192.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 190 and 195.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²² R. G. Moulton, "On Character-Development in Shakspeare As Illustrated by Macbeth and Henry V." *Transactions New Shakespeare Society*, xxv (1880-86), p. 567.

²³ A. C. Bradley, "The Rejection of Falstaff," *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (London, 1909), pp. 255-6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 257-8.

²⁵ J. W. Cunliffe, "Character of Henry V As Prince and King," *Shaksperian Studies by Members of the Department of English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University* (N. Y., 1919), p. 331.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

²⁹ A. H. Tolman, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

³⁰ Mark Van Doren, *Shakespeare* (N. Y., 1939). Mr. Van Doren does not limit this criticism to poetry devoted to the praise of Henry.

³¹ Samuel Johnson, *Notes on Henry V.* In *Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. Walter Raleigh (London, 1908), p. 133.

NOTES ON SHAKSPERE & *THE MIRROR OF KNIGHTHOOD*

(Concluded)

By DOROTHY R. EVANS

The Tempest

Perott²¹ has also listed what he considered *the Tempest's* borrowings from the *Mirror*. To me, as to Mr. Thomas,²² most of these so-called borrowings have little significance, many being commonplaces of romance (storms accompanying magic charms, noises,²³ magic boats, bowers, etc.). Others, notably the forced marriage, also seem far-fetched. Thomas, speaking of Perott's idea that *The Tempest* draws this marriage theme from the story of Polidarco,²⁴ says it is not a very convincing original for Shakspeare's play. I thoroughly agree. Thomas suggests rather the story of Palisteo²⁵ and the adventure on Artimaga's Island as a more probable source, but he does not press the suggestion.²⁶ Perott²⁷ had drawn up a table of equivalents in which Prospero is Palisteo, Ferdinand is Trebatio, and Miranda is Lindaraza. Since Thomas has summarized this *Mirror* episode, I shall not repeat it here.²⁸

In *The Tempest*, Miranda is Prospero's only child. He, a magician, had turned over to his brother the management of the state (I,ii,66 ff.). Palisteo, living on an island (but very gorgeously equipped) with his son Flamides and his daughter Lindaraza, somewhat resembles Prospero.

"Palisteo being the second son of ye king of Phrygia, my father not being borne to the kingdome fell rather to seke his owne delight without envy, then to trouble himself with the care of governing. Aboue all he studied the Arte Magicke, where by his paines at length came to the most absolute perfection of all in Asia...²⁹ [He] louing to be solitarie came & dwelled in this Iland, bringing wt him my sister & those waiting women which you haue seene,..."

Palisteo is dead when the *Mirror* episode occurs, but by his enchantments he has brought about the *affaire* between

his daughter and the Emperor. Palisteo hardly seems to correspond to Prospero, after all. Nor does Lyrgandeo,³⁰ a great magician and an island-dweller (who has no daughter), nor does Artemidoro,³¹ who is an island-dweller and has a daughter, but is not an abdicated ruler nor brother to a king. However, Artemidoro's daughter, Calinda, is a sort of Miranda-Ariel combination. Really, none of the *Mirror's* chief magicians seems to be Prospero.

ii

Shakspere set his scene (I, i, ii, stage directions) on "an uninhabited island" whose only dwelling seems to be Prospero's "cell" (I, ii). Obviously this setting can not be indebted to descriptions of Artemidoro's or Lindaraza's palatial island homes. But it does resemble, as Thomas suggested, Artimaga's Island.³² The possible debt to Ariosto in the descriptions of this island, I have discussed.³³ If, as has been suggested, Shakspere had in mind the storm and island of Ruggiero's shipwreck (*O.F. XLI*),³⁴ we are now concerned with *The Tempest's* debt to Ariosto direct and to Ariosto as presented in the *Mirror* passages borrowed from *Orlando Furioso*. Let us try to isolate resemblances between the play and the *Mirror*.

Though this island seem to be desert, . . .
 Uninhabitable and almost inaccessible . . .
 Yet,
 It must needs be of subtle, tender and delicate temperance.

 The air breathes upon us here most sweetly,

 Here is everything advantageous to life.

 How lush and lusty the grass looks! How Green. (II,i,39-55)

When Claridiana, seeking the Knight of the Sun, lands
 (by choice) upon Artimaga's island, she observes

the country so plaine and no habitation . . . but as an unpeopled
 and desert place; . . . the Iland was very fresh & greene, and full
 of trees, . . . [The Knight of the Sun lived there] eating . . . wilde
 fruites, . . . such hearbes and fruites, as were in the Iland, . . .³⁵

iii

Caliban, son of the witch Sycorax, born on the island (I, ii, 280-85) owned the island (*ibid.*, 390), having inherited it from his mother. So Fauno, son of the devil and Artimaga, a vicious and revolting woman,³⁶ was born on the island and owns it by maternal inheritance. With I, ii, 315-18

Then was this island . . .
 Save for the son that she did litter here,
 A freckl'd whelp, hag-born—not honour'd with a human shape.

compare this from the *Mirror*³⁷

!

[Fauno went throughout] the Iland, & did so much harme, that he left none aliue where he became, some slaine, and other some hearing the report of his crueltie, fled awaie, so ye the Iland is lefte desolate, and no inhabitants therin, neither anie other liuing thing.

Caliban's parentage

Thou poisonous slave, got by the devil himself
 Upon thy wicked dam³⁸

resembles Fauno's. The devil explained to Artimaga that he would come to her in the form of a strange and fearful beast,³⁹ from Mt. Atlas. The offspring of this union was Fauno.

As to the appearance of Caliban and Fauno, there is no specific resemblance. Caliban is fish-like; Fauno resembles a unicorn, among other creatures, and he has a horn in his forehead.⁴⁰ The descriptions of him are too long to quote here, but one detail must be mentioned. Fauno carries in his belly devils in the form of armed men whom he emits from his mouth,⁴¹ to help him fight. Possibly there is an allusion to Fauno in Trinculo's crawling (II, ii) in under Caliban's gaberdine. Stephano, talking to Caliban, discovers that the monster has two voices (one later proves to have been Trinculo).

Stephano: Four legs and two voices: a most delicate monster! . .
 Doth thy other mouth call me? . . This is a devil, and no monster.
 I will leave him; . . .

Trinculo: Stephano . . . touch and speak to me; for I am Trinculo—be not afeard . . .

Stephano: If thou beest Trinculo, come forth. I'll pull thee by the lesser legs. If any be Trinculo's legs, these are they. Thou art very Trinculo indeed! How cam'st thou to be the siege of this moon-salf? Can he vent Trinculos? (II,ii,96-114)

iv

Prospero calls his dwelling a "cell." The *Mirror* describes the Knight of the Sun's "cottage of boughes."⁴² Here again Ariosto is probably the ultimate source,⁴³ though the derivation may be through the *Mirror*.

v

Joseph Hunter long ago suggested⁴⁴ that Prospero's island might be Lampedusa instead of some remoter one like Bermuda. It is perhaps useless to speculate any further, for Shakspeare certainly may have invented the island scene. But, assuming that the *Mirror* is following Ariosto,⁴⁵ cantos XLI, XLV, XLVI, here, it is interesting to remark upon certain details in the description of the island which seem to agree with the legends regarding Lampedusa.

The sailors tell the Knight of the Sun⁴⁶ that this Iland is . . . so fearefull unto all sailors that pesselth this waie, . . . and that fire which you doe see, with the thicke smoake that ascendeth into the aire, is all that which proceedeth out of the terrible and horrible mouth of that diuellish Fauno, for that it is full of infernall diuells.

Lampedusa, it will be recalled, was thought by Mediterranean sailors⁴⁷ to emit St. Elmo's fire, and this legend may be reflected in another *Mirror* statement,⁴⁸

an Iland, and out of the middest thereof they might perceiue great flames and sparkes of fire, with a terrible darke and thicke smoake.

Another quality of Lampedusa was the hard rock;⁴⁹ there were also loud noises,⁵⁰ strange in an uninhabited place. All of these items are as much a part of *The Tempest* as of the *Mirror*, where more is made of them than in Ariosto. Still it seems scarcely justifiable to say of *The Tempest* that it definitely owes anything to the *Mirror*. There are

certainly provocative resemblances between the two stories and it is quite possible that Shakspeare was drawing on the romance. Much of the resemblance may be romance commonplace, much of it can be coincidental. But perhaps—slight as it is—the query “Can he vent Trinculos” is our best reason for thinking that Shakspeare might have had the *Mirror* in mind as he wrote *The Tempest*.

C.

Cymbeline

The *Mirror* has also been mentioned in relation to *Cymbeline*⁵¹ and perhaps it should be added to the list of analogues of *Cymbeline* for the cave scene. There are in the pastoral 1583 volume of the *Mirror*⁵² two scenes which are worth noting in this connection. The first⁵³ is the scene which Richard Johnson borrowed nearly verbatim from the *Mirror* and incorporated into his *Seven Champions of Christendom*.⁵⁴ It tells how Claridiano and Printo sleep on the ground at night, but actually spending the night walking up and down. They are famished when Claridiano, luckily, sees a mountain from which smoke issues. Arrived at the mountain, he finds a cave; he slays the giant keeper just as the rest of his party arrive. They enter and find the giant's venison roasting. Each person takes a special task (“the Ladyes made the fire”) in preparing the food. They dine on half-cooked meat, bread and beer, and then, fearing lest another giant appear, they “tooke the waie and trauailed through a narowe path which seemed to be vsed by the Gyant, . . .” (Cf. *Cymbeline*, III, vi, 18)

The second episode⁵⁵ tells how Trebatio, Bramidoro, and Victorando, lost in a forest, come upon a mountain in which is a great cave. They enter and find it filled with quarters of venison and other game. They look outside but find no one (Cf. *Cymbeline*, III, vi, 23). Bramidoro says he is hungry and Trebatio says, “Let me haue my bodie and stomacke satisfied. . . & afterward at the paying of ye reckoning they shall see what money I haue, . . .” (Cf. *Cymbeline*, III, vi, 50). They roast half a deer and eat it outdoors, always with a care “to see if their host did come.”

There is much talk of the reckoning which probably "must be paid with fists." Then two giants come to the cave, and when they find "the lacke of their flesh" (Cf. *Cymbeline*, III, vi, 41), they come out "to demaund of vs the reckoning & to pay ye shot." It is paid in combat, and the knights go their way carrying food with them.

These are not close parallels, but there are some resemblances to the *Cymbeline* episode.

Hamlet

Perott has said⁵⁶ that the *Mirror* reminded him of *Hamlet*, IV, vii, 175-6,

Her clothes spread wide;
And mermaid-like, awhile they bore her up:

He cites the *Mirror* tale in which a woman jumped into the sea, "but being clad in large garments she coulde not drowne presently."⁵⁷ She does drown—slowly. Perott might also have mentioned the *Mirror* lady who "ranne & lept into the water with full intent to drowne hir selfe, the which she had done, had not hir clothes borne hir vp, . . ."⁵⁸ I see here no debt on Shakspeare's part other than that to every day life.

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²¹"The Probable Source of the Plot of Shakespeare's *Tempest*," *loc. cit.*; "Beaumont and Fletcher and the *Mirror of Knighthood*," *loc. cit.*; "*The Mirrour of Knighthood*," *Romanic Review* IV (400-01); "Die Magelonen und die Sturmfaßel," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft* XLVII (1911), 128-31; *Culture Española* XII (1908-9), 1923-29.

²²*Spanish and Portuguese Romances*. 280 ff.

²³*Tempest*, I, ii, 275-96 draws on *Mirror*, Pt. 2 (1699 ed.), 94: "giueth terrible shrikes," etc. *Tempest* III, ii, 144-52 draws on Pt. 2, 96.

²⁴1578, 148 ff.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 14, 16, 148 ff.

²⁶*Spanish and Portuguese Romances*. 281-83.

²⁷"Die Magelonen-und die Sturmfaßel," *loc. cit.*, 128.

²⁸*Op. cit.*, 278-80; cf. Thomas, "Shakespeare y España" in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, I, 225; Matulka, *op. cit.*, 237.

²⁹1578, 148.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 41v; cf. also 57.

³¹*Ibid.*, 79v-80-87.

³²1586[?]. 59, 69v, 70, chs. 14-5, 28-30.

³³"*The Mirror of Knighthood* and the *Orlando Furioso*," forthcoming, PMLA.

³⁴Joseph Hunter. *New Illustrations of the Life, Studies, and Writings of Shakespeare*. (London, 1845), I, 161ff. cf. *Variorum, The Tempest*, 1 ff.

- ³⁵1586[?], 127, cf. *ibid.*, 61-61v, 77v, 137v.
³⁶*Ibid.*, 59v-61.
³⁷*Ibid.*, 61-61v.
³⁸I, ii, 319-20.
³⁹1586[?]. 59v-61.
⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 60-61v; 73v-76.
⁴¹*Ibid.*, 73v. 76.
⁴²*Ibid.*, 77v.
⁴³*Variorum Tempest*, p. 2.
⁴⁴*Variorum Tempest*, p. 1 ff.
⁴⁵1586[?]. chs. 14-5, 28-30.
⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 61v; cf. 59v, 73v, 70, 74.
⁴⁷*Variorum Tempest*, pp. 1-2.
⁴⁸1586[?]. 58.
⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 72v-73, 77; *Tempest*, II, ii, 180 and I, ii, 423-24.
⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 70, 73v, 74; *Tempest*, III, ii, 143 ff.
⁵¹Thomas, *Shakespeare and Spain*, 30, rejects Perott's arguments. The present discussion lies outside the Thomas-Perott suggestions.
⁵²Edwin Greenlaw. "Shakespeare's Pastorals." *SP* XIII (1916), 122-54.
⁵³Pp. 220-223.
⁵⁴I shall discuss Johnson's use of the *Mirror* elsewhere.
⁵⁵Pp. 261-262.
⁵⁶The Probable Source of the Plot of Shakespeare's *Tempest*," *loc. cit.*; "Ueber die Entlehnungen und Änderungen von Namen in den Schauspielen und Erzählungen mit Verkleidungsmotiv." *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLIII (1907), 218.
⁵⁷1578, [136].
⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 27.

MR. WILSON'S *HENRY IV*, PARTS I AND II

By R. W. BABCOCK

MR. J. DOVER WILSON, in his new *Henry IV* texts, has turned somewhat conservative and distinctly deferential. Not till the very end of *Henry IV, Part II*, in a note on the Epilogue, is there a spark of the old spectacular Wilson, of *MAAN*, *MND*, *AYLI*, and *TN*, and though some of us may welcome this picture of the 'Editor Tamed,' I think it a bit sad to see such a spark grow dim.

Let us take the two plays separately, and in sequence, and see just what has happened.

The Introduction in *Henry IV*, Pt. I, covers both plays, which are dedicated to the "Memory of Q," Arthur Quiller-Gouch, Mr. Wilson's collaborator up to the *Hamlet* volume in 1934. And I should say right at the start that Mr. Wilson needs another 'Q,' for his literary introductions. They are not his forte.

This Introduction promises a third volume, in type at least, to supplement *The Fortunes of Falstaff* (1943), and the present textual volumes, which may be considered as one type. (In this procedure Mr. Wilson is following his *Hamlet* volumes.) The 'third' book, to come, will treat of the "sources and textual history of the double play and its sequel *Henry V*."

Then the Editor immediately proceeds to offer arguments, reminiscent of *The Fortunes of Falstaff*, to prove the very close connection of the two parts. He suggests that the *Richard II-Henry V* tetralogy was originally three plays but that Shakspeare split up *Henry IV*. I wonder what he would think now of Mr. Tillyard's idea that there is possibly a *lost* tetralogy² of these plays — a version which in Shakspeare's work really preceded the other tetralogy, now dated first? (Mr. Wilson mentions Mr. Tillyard in his first footnote, but that's all.) At the end of this section of the Introduction the Editor recurs to his symbolism of *The Fortunes*: Part I is Chivalry; Part II is Rule of Law.

The next section turns to *Henry IV* (now considered as essentially one play) as "an Elizabethan history play"⁷³—earlier he called it "a chronicle play."⁷⁴ Here he could well have profited by Mr. Tillyard's recent book (and in his subsequent notes too), but he does point out some of Mr. Tillyard's basic ideas: the divinity of Kingship—"Hal" at the end is "the true 'governor'"⁷⁵—and the Elizabethan horror of usurpation and rebellion. The Introduction closes with a 1942 anecdote about the effectiveness of Falstaff. (Probably 'Q' could have done better than all this.)

The rest of the first volume contains an excellent stage history of both plays by the late Harold Child—into which I think has crept something of a new note (a note echoed later in both the text and the Notes), *i.e.* a section on the plays in *America* (pp. xlv ff.)!—followed by the full text of *Henry IV*, Part I, a note on "The Copy of *1 Henry IV*," the Notes, and, at the end, some "Parallels from Nashe" and the Glossary. Vol. II—*Henry IV*, Part II—contains just the text, a note on "The Copy for *2 Henry IV*," the Notes and the Glossary.

It is on the text mainly that I want to concentrate.

Several times in the Introduction and the Notes of *Henry IV*, Part I, Mr. Wilson has mentioned Mr. S. B. Hemingway,⁶ American Editor of the Variorum *Henry IV*, Part I, in 1936. There are many other Americans mentioned too, but I shall concentrate on Mr. Hemingway at the moment. A rather rapid collation of Mr. Wilson's text with Mr. Hemingway's (which also followed the Quarto text) reveals the rather astonishing fact that Mr. Wilson's text differs from Mr. Hemingway's in only about 41 readings: 7 in Act I,⁷ 9 in Act II,⁸ 10 in Act III,⁹ 8 in Act IV,¹⁰ and 7 in Act V.¹¹ These differences include individual lining, words, speech headings, and prose-versus-verse. The spelling and punctuation I have not tabulated; in the case of the former Wilson modernizes persistently (*cf daub* for *dawbe*)¹² and in the case of the latter he not only modernizes¹³ but has a system all his own,¹⁴ which is immaterial. (The stage directions I shall return to presently.) What now impresses me about the above collation—which may

well err up to at least 100 differences—is the amazing similarity of the two texts in actual readings. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hemingway have both been pretty consistent in sticking to the Quarto. This text of Mr. Wilson's, then, is *not a new text*, from the readings point of view, by a long shot. I do not say, of course, that he merely followed the Variorum; I simply point out that it is *not a new text* of

Henry IV, Part I.

The stage directions, however, tell a totally different story; here Mr. Wilson *is new*, in more ways than one. May I list a few of the most prominent characteristics of Mr. Wilson's stage directions. (And here I must insist that my notes on this subject were gathered long before I saw Mr. Flatter's recent article in the *Bulletin*,¹⁵ on Mr. Wilson's stage directions in *Richard II* and other texts.)

(1) All *exits* in the original copy are dropped—as old-fashioned, I suppose—in favor of a more direct statement, such as “Falstaff goes.”¹⁶

(2) Similarly *Enters* are changed to something like “Worcester returns.”¹⁷

(3) Directions are added generally for the movements of actors.¹⁸

(4) Gestures and facial expressions are often added.¹⁹

(5) Asides, or single parentheses for them, are inserted here and there.²⁰

(6) A few scene settings are changed somewhat.²¹

(7) Mr. Wilson occasionally follows other editors' ideas (generally Capell's) in inserting a stage direction but uses his own words, and often adds more.²²

(8) He uses single quotes for an original Quarto s.d. which he has reprinted.²³

(9) But he uses some other editor's *exact words* for a stage direction without acknowledging them.²⁴

(10) Finally, he often adds to a Quarto s.d. by inserting some new ideas of his own.²⁵

All of this "business" certainly produces a decidedly different text from the Variorum text—a strictly new, Dover Wilson text. As to how far it is acceptable, I leave that to the individual reader. Mr. Flatter did not think it was legitimate editing.²⁶ I do not either, especially in the case of No. 9.

"The Copy for 1 *Henry IV*" was a simple little section of only six pages and deferred directly to Hemingway at the end.

The Notes I have not examined in much detail—*i.e.* for possible sources for them. Some of them have already been criticized in public print;²⁷ happily, very seldom now appears the old Wilson refrain, "hitherto overlooked,"²⁸ which vitiated his former texts. His historical notes tend to stress Holinshed without much reference to Hall,²⁹ a point wherein Mr. Tillyard might have helped him (as I suggested above), and most of the notes seem "glossarial," if I may use such a term. A few were of interpretive value.³⁰ I notice that he still sticks to Falstaff's wink;³¹ and the comment on V, 1, 83—"both *our* armies," a Folio reading which the Editor adopts over his pet Q's "both *your* armies"—might have been referred to "your philosophy" in *Hamlet*,³² where *your* is a purely rhetorical term and the accent falls on *philosophy*. The accent here should be on *both*.

Two further aspects of the Notes are extremely interesting. One involves the number of times Mr. Wilson now defers to other scholars—even Americans. Roughly speaking, the Notes mention by name some 40 Englishmen and 10 Americans (Kittredge 14 times³³—and even Stoll once). The Introduction adds about 8 other Englishmen and 4 other Americans. Mr. Wilson is now quite aware of the work of other scholars.

I return to my own introduction. Mr. Wilson has be-

come distinctly deferential and somewhat conservative. The former point I have just now proved. The second one has been suggested by the text (except for the stage directions) and indicates where the spark of *MAAN*, *MND*, *AYLI*, and *TN* has gone dim. Here is a play with a character as popular as Benedick—more so. Could Mr. Wilson find *no* spot where the text was cut (in the poetry) to allow *more* of Falstaff to appear? No mixing of prose and verse that would imply revision? No strata of texts in this play? The answer is that in his Notes the Editor did definitely point out possible cuts,³⁴ short lines,³⁵ even textual strata,³⁶ and possible revision,³⁷ but—there is no speculation as to *what happened*—*why* it happened—what is *missing*. The old spectacular speculation of the four plays above is gone. I wonder why.

II

Henry IV, Part II

When we turn to the text of *Henry IV*, Part II, the situation is a bit different. It is apparently no longer possible to point out a distinct similarity between the Variorum text (edited by M. A. Shaaber) and Mr. Wilson's text because the former has gone back to the regular Variorum emphasis on the Folio, whereas Mr. Wilson is sticking to the Quarto as much as possible. He admits, however, that he has based the "punctuation of the prose on that of F for the most part"³⁸ and also that he deliberately followed the Folio text 55 times³⁹ and various editors (mostly 18th-century) ten times to solve the misprints in both Q and F.⁴⁰ The Folio is further needed, he notes, for the 8 cuts in the Q text.⁴¹ All this so far is mainly from "The Copy for 2 *Henry IV*," and his dependence on other critics throughout this section is pronounced (Greg, Chambers, Shaaber, Maas, Gaw, Pollard, Schücking and Hart). He is pretty sure now, in spite of the evidence to the contrary, of Shakespeare's hand in *Sir Thomas More*,⁴² but the most interesting fact to me is that Mr. Shaaber is mentioned four times in these 9 pages. And in the subsequent notes this American editor is referred to 29 times!⁴³ Not only, therefore, is there considerable connection between Mr. Shaaber's Variorum

text and Mr. Wilson's version (even though they use different originals as a basis), but Mr. Wilson's great deference to an American is astonishing and (together with the British names listed above) parallels his general deference to other scholars in the case of *Henry IV*, Part I, as noted above.

It is an interesting fact, moreover—to return to Mr. Shaaber—that if one eliminates certain basic differences between Q and F texts, the closeness of Mr. Wilson's text to Mr. Shaaber's is startling. "The decorous F"⁴⁴ in general (1) throws out God and other oaths, (2) uses *he* for Q *a* (Mr. Wilson likes the Cambridge *a'*), uses *if* for Q *and* (Mr. Wilson chooses *an* or *an't*). So, having eliminated these differences as merely basic, I found in a rapid collation of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Shaaber 18 differences in the Induction and Act I, 28 in Act II, 17 in Act III, 31 in Act IV, 27 in Act V and the Epilogue—a grand total of 121.⁴⁵ This includes word readings (F or Q or an editor's), emendations, lining and line omissions, but obviously does not include punctuation and spelling (for reasons indicated above). Probably I missed some 80 other differences, but 200 major differences in one whole play, based on a different original text, do show how close Mr. Wilson's text still is to Mr. Shaaber's. To compare, there were only about 41 such differences in Part I where the same original text was used by both editors.

Here again, though, it is the stage directions that really distinguish the two texts. Consider the 10 innovations Mr. Wilson used in *Henry IV*, Part I, as listed above.

(1) Drooping exits for direct statements is again very much in evidence.⁴⁶

(2) So also is this one (revising of *enters* in the same way).⁴⁷

(3) And this (for movements of actors) appears many times.⁴⁸

(4) A few descriptive phrases are inserted.⁴⁹

(5) *Asides*, or single parentheses to indicate them, are still present, but not overdone.⁵⁰

(6) The Editor adds a few of these (new locale notes).⁵¹

(7) Mr. Wilson's use of other editors' stage directions in this text is very prominent, and he also adds to an editor's direction.⁵²

(8) He still uses single quotes for an original Quarto stage direction, but not many appear in this text.⁵³

(9) Again he quotes some editors' stage directions, without acknowledgment—in fact, more often than in Part I.⁵⁴

This situation is made even worse by the fact that at least three times he does put quotes around an editor's s.d.⁵⁵

(10) He is still adding something of his own to a Quarto s.d.⁵⁶ I shall now have to add three more innovations in this text:

(11) He often *almost* follows the F s.d.⁵⁷

(12) A few times he adds a s.d. to indicate the 'addressee'.⁵⁸

(13) But the most startling thing in the whole text is the vast number of brand-new stage directions, wherein he either drops the precise readings of both Q and F or makes

All in all, then, this Part II is an even more astonishing text, with regard to its stage directions, than was Part I. Yet the editor's discussion of his stage directions on p. 127 occupies only 4½ lines! Mr. Flatter⁶⁰ will probably be even more horrified by all this new "business."

In the midst of all this textual discussion I should like to insert the name of Capell. Mr. Wilson's use of this editor (or his imitators) is amazing—on p. 45 alone Capell's ideas appear three times⁶¹ and on p. 46 twice;⁶² and by a rough count Capell is used on 25 other pages of this text,⁶³ though Mr. Wilson refers to him directly only 7 times,⁶⁴ I think, in his Notes. Before I got through with this text, I decided that the old 18th-century editors were not so inconsequential after all, for Capell is not the only one Mr. Wilson

uses (Johnson, Malone and Pope also appear⁶⁵). But Capell leads easily.

The Notes to this text, I should say—again without examining them for possible sources—are better than those in Part I. There are many explanatory notes⁶⁶ and also a few interpretive notes.⁶⁷ There are notes on speech headings,⁶⁸ notes on staging⁶⁹—three times the editor explains his own stage direction⁷⁰ and once admits he ‘lifted’ one.⁷¹ Twice he suggests an emendation he did not use in the text;⁷² Holinshed appears many times again in preference to Mr. Tillyard’s Hall;⁷³ and, sad to say, the old refrain—“hitherto unnoticed”⁷⁴—crops up again here, a little more often than in Part I. But the most peculiar thing about these notes is their apparent haste of production, for Mr. Wilson has dashed off abbreviations of words persistently that at times are a bit confusing.⁷⁵

Finally, these Notes prove again the new, great deference of Mr. Wilson toward other scholars—a point I emphasized at the very beginning of this paper. Added to 4 Englishmen and a German in the “Copy” section are some 14 Englishmen and 4 Germans in the Notes. And to the two Americans referred to under the “Copy” Mr. Wilson adds 6 more in the Notes, including even Mr. E. E. Stoll,⁷⁶ whom Mr. Wilson has often derided. In this text, Kittredge got only one reference, I think—compare 14 in Part I—whereas Mr. Shaaber led the field with 33 distinct references!⁷⁷ Verily Mr. Wilson has become not merely deferential, but deferential even to Americans.

To conclude, I return to my sad tone at the end of *Henry IV*, Part I, above. Where is the old Wilson of *MAAN*, *MND*, *AYLI*, and *TN*? Are there no cuts, no mixtures of prose and verse, no textual strata, no signs of revision? Again I can note that the editor has definitely suggested cuts,⁷⁸ and has also pointed out F and Q mixups of prose and verse,⁷⁹ but there are several other spots where prose and verse are intermingled *within the same scene*.⁸⁰ Was Falstaff’s part enlarged here? The Editor has discussed the mixup of two Bardolphs,⁸¹ but not textual layers. As in Part I it is all a bit disappointing. The material for

speculations is all here, but the man who made them in earlier plays is no longer interested in them. Only twice does he burst forth in the old detective-like speculation,⁸² and the first time he is following Greg and Pollard, but the second time—in the first note on the Epilogue—it is the old Wilson in action.

"Quo vadis" now, Mr. Wilson?

Wayne University, Detroit

¹P. vii. ²*Shakespeare's History Plays* (Macmillan, 1946), pp. 149, 238.

³P. xiii. ⁴P. vii. ⁵P. xvii. ⁶Pp. xxviii, 108n, 110, 113, 148, 174, 179.

⁷I, 1, 55-6; I, 1, 75-6; I, 1, 103-4; I, 3, 124; I, 3, 223-4; I, 3, 242. These lines always refer to the Dover Wilson text, unless otherwise indicated.

⁸II, 1, 75; II, 2, 42; II, 2, 50; II, 3, 2—this one Mr. Wilson himself failed to list on p. 107 though his note on p. 141 indicates it; II, 3, 80 ff. [II, 4, 32 [II, 4, 177; II, 4, 242; II, 4, 482.

⁹III, 1, 98; III, 1, 105-9; III, 1, 232-5; III, 1, 247-9 [III, 2, 156 [III, 3, 72 and 75; III, 3, 156 (might be termed a modernized spelling, I suppose); III, 3, 188; III, 3, 195.

¹⁰IV, 1, 54-5; IV, 1, 97 and 98; IV, 1, 127; IV, 2, 3; IV, 2, 77-8; IV, 3, 13-4 and 16-7.

¹¹V, 1, 121-2; V, 2, 3 (this is another rejection of a Q reading that Mr. Wilson failed to note on p. 107, though he did on p. 182) [V, 2, 27-8 [V, 2, 94-5; V, 4, 1-2; V, 4, 61-2 and 158-9.

¹²I, 1, 6; etc., etc. (Cf. especially I, 2, 161-7.)

¹³Cf. III, 2, 122; etc., etc.

¹⁴See p. xlvii.

¹⁵Richard Flatter, "Modern Stage-Directions in Shakspeare," *Shakespeare Assoc. Bulletin*, XXL (1946), 116-23. There is nothing new about this discovery of peculiar stage directions in the Dover Wilson texts: Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum pointed them out with regard to *The Tempest* way back in 1931 and in his pamphlet *The New Cambridge Shakspeare and 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona'* (1939, pp. 18-27)—see PQ, X (1931), 102 ff. The point now is that they are getting more peculiar.

¹⁶This s.d. occurs specifically at I, 2, 153 ('Exit F' in F 2-4). But exactly the same change takes place on pp. 12, 13, 16, 24, 25, 28, 29 (twice), 33, 43, 50, 55, 59 (twice), 60, 65, 71, 76, 82, 84, 88, 90, 94, 96, 98, 100, 101, 102.

¹⁷Quarto has "Enter Worcester" at I, 3, 129. Wilson turns it around to "Worcester returns." He also does this consistently on pp. 9, 26, 27, 28, 29 (twice), 36, 42, 44, 67, 74, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99.

¹⁸For instance at II, 4, 3: "[Comes forth]." This sort of thing also happens on pp. 26, 35, 37 (twice), 38, 42, 51, 52, 53, 58. "[Mortimer sits and she with him]," 88, 95.

¹⁹For instance I, 2, 106: "[points]" and II, 3, 73: "[rapt]." This also occurs on pp. 10, 13, 41, 42, 45.

²⁰Pp. 24, 28, 40, 52, 94, 100.

²¹Cf. I, 2: "Sir John Falstaff lies snoring upon a bench in a corner. The Prince of Wales enters and rouses him." See also pp. 13, 26 (for II, 2), 34 (for II, 4) and 76 (for IV, 2).

²²For instance p. 37: Q has only "Enter Falstaffe." Mr. Wilson inserts: "Falstaff enters with Gadshill, Bardolph and Peto; Francis follows with cups of sack." So far this is derived from Dyce. But Mr. Wilson adds, on his own: "Falstaff, taking no heed of Prince and Poins, sits wearily at a table." This happens also on pp. 39 (Johnson), 43 (White), 49 (several editors), 50 (Collier), 53 (Capell), 65 (several editors), 84 (Theobald), 88 (Theobald), 95 (Capell), 98 (Johnson), 99

(Malone). Other Capell ideas appear on pp. 32, 90 (V, 2, 28), and 99 (V, 4, 139).

²³This happens very often. See, for instance, p. 23: [they whistle]; p. 30: 'Enter Hotspur, solus, reading a letter.' See also pp. 23, 29, 31, 36, 38, 48, 49, 50, 51, 57, 58, 59, 60, 72, 80, 84, 93, 94, 96, 98, 99, 100. On p. 96, however, he failed to quote the Quarto stage direction correctly.

²⁴At the beginning of Act IV, Sc. 4, Mr. Wilson writes: "York. A Room in the Archbishop's Palace." These are Capell's precise words. The same thing happens at the beginning of V, i: "The King's Camp near Shrewsbury"—again Capell's exact words. He also used Collier's words, "dragging off the body," at the end of V, 4 (p. 100).

²⁵For example p. 29 (II, 2, 101): ['They all run away, leaving the booty behind them, and Falstaff after a blow or two runs away too.' So far the Q. Then Mr. Wilson drops the last four words of the Q s.d. and adds, himself, "roaring for mercy as the Prince and Poins prick him from behind with their swords." There is no closing bracket. The same manoeuvre occurs on pp. 30, 57, 65, 68 (here Mr. Wilson interpolates words *within* the Q s.d.), 78, 84, 92, 95, 97.

²⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 123.

²⁷See *TLS*, Aug. 24, 1946 (by Janet Spens); Aug. 24, 1946 (in the review entitled "The True Prince"); Oct. 26, 1946 (by K. B. Danks).

²⁸See pp. 146 and 188 (note to V, 4, 96). Miss Spens (*TLS*, Aug. 24, 1946) took him to task for that remark on p. 146.

²⁹See pp. 115, 116, 117, 160, 163, 165, 166, 187.

³⁰See notes to I, 2, 105-7; III, 1, 160-2 and 195; IV, 2, 23-4.

³¹P. 149: II, 4, 188-9.

³²See Kittredge's Ginn text of *Hamlet*, I, 5, 167—pp. 172-3.

³³Pp. 110, 113, 115, 117, 124, 125 (twice), 128, 137, 159, 163, 168, 174, 178.

³⁴See p. 126 (note to I, 3, 1-4): "Perhaps an opening passage has been cut." He notes the mixture of prose and verse on p. 143 (note to II, 3, 79-90) and on p. 163 (note to III, 1, 251-6). "Note the sudden return to verse."

³⁵See p. 160 (note to III, 1, 112): "A short line."

³⁶See p. 166 (note to III, 2, 173-8): "Two textual strata seem discernible."

³⁷See p. 183 (note to V, 2, 30): "The obscurity may be the result of revision"[and p. 185 (note to V, 3, 39-55): "This seems to me a clear example of verse prosified in revision."

³⁸P. 126. Ten pages earlier he had written: "...the pointing of the F is practically our sole guide for a large proportion of the play."

³⁹P. 116.

⁴⁰P. 117.

⁴¹Pp. 119 ff.

⁴²P. 119. See also pp. 129 and 148 in the Notes.

⁴³Pp. 124, 136, 139, 144 (twice), 150, 157, 164, 166, 167, 174, 179, 181, 183, 186, 191, 195 (twice), 201 (twice), 202 (twice), 208 (twice), 211, 212, 215.

⁴⁴P. 179.

⁴⁵I could list these, as I did in Notes 7-11 above, but I don't think it is necessary. And I am quite willing to admit that I probably missed a few others. See my statement in the text below.

⁴⁶*Cf.* p. 21 at the end of I, 2: "he limps off"—where Q has nothing and F has *Exeunt*. This also happens on pp. 6, 13, 25, 31, 36, 37, 40, 51, 52, 55, 64, 65, 72, 73, 77, 79, 81, 103, 113. There is only *one* exception—on p. 90.

⁴⁷For example, p. 6: "Northumberland comes forth"...—near the beginning of I, 1—where Q has "Enter the Earle Northumberland" and F has "Enter Northumberland." See also pp. 7, 9, 15, 16, 41, 63, 66, 77, 85, etc.

⁴⁸*Cf.* p. 16: "[bows]"[and pp. 34, 35, 52, 58, 83, 89, 105, 108, 111.

⁴⁹For instance p. 59: "[a gaunt man]." And see pp. 60 (twice), 61. There are also sounds indicated—*i.e.* p. 25: "[roars]"; and pp. 40: "[faintly]"; 45: "[shouts]"; 51: "[sobs]"; 52: "[sobs]"; 104: "[he hiccoughs]."

⁵⁰For *asides*: pp. 19, 47, 60; for single parentheses: pp. 18, 27, 48, 49, 63.

⁵¹For instance p. 25 at the start of II, 1: Eastcheap is Rowe's idea, but Mr. Wilson has added: "Near the Boar's Head Tavern." See also pp. 31 ("A Room in the Prince's House"), 39 (the locale direction at the beginning of II, 4 is a mixup of Malone and Mr. Wilson), 52 ("The Palace at Westminster" is a combination of Theobald and Dyce, but "past midnight" is Mr. Wilson), 66 ("Gaultree Forest, Yorkshire" is merely the Cambridge reading reversed).

⁵²This idea has already been indicated in Note 51. There are many times when Mr. Wilson follows an earlier editor in inserting a s.d.: *i.e.* p. 36: "[Bardolph and the Page go]" for Capell's "Exit Page and Bardolph." See also pp. 42, 44 (at line 154), 45 (twice), 46 (21 words for Capell's 4), 47 (top one), 49, 50, 52 (first two), 75 (twice), 76 (three times), 77 (at bottom), 78 (first one), 86, 88 (three times), 92, 95 (top one), 97 (three times), 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108 (line 136), 111. Occasionally, as in Note 51, Mr. Wilson not only changes the words of the Editor but adds something of his own. See, for example, p. 46 at the top: "[Bardolph seizes Pistol and forces him back towards the door on the right." So far it is Rowe's general idea, except at the end. Mr. Wilson adds: "Falstaff follows behind." See also p. 103 (at start of V, 3), 106 (at line 82), 111 (at line 42—this one in a combination of Q with single quotes, Capell and Dover Wilson, who added, "come from the Abbey").

⁵³See pp. 5, 6, 27, 100, 109, 110, 111, etc.

⁵⁴P. 14 ("A Street in London" is Pope); 26 ("and a scuffle ensues" is Capell and on p. 146 Mr. Wilson admits it); 34 ("gives him money" is Pope); 37 ("Enter... Percy" is all Rowe); 43 ("filling and reaching out to him" are Capell's precise words); 55 ("Before . . . Gloucestershire" is Malone); 82 ("Westminster . . . Chamber" is the Cambridge edition); 87 (ditto); 98 (both s.d. at the start of V, 2, are Capell's except for one word); 104 ("seating . . . table" are Malone's words).

⁵⁵See p. 33 (single quotes for Rowe), 52 (for Capell) and 57 (for Capell).

⁵⁶This can be followed by noting the single quotes, plus something extra, on pp. 14, 78, 111. The same thing actually happens, *without quotes*, on pp. 31 (Enter... Wales). On p. 150 Mr. Wilson explains his own addition to this s.d.

⁵⁷See p. 21 ("Enter... Bardolph"), 47 ("Enter... Drawers"), 94 ("Enter... others"). On p. 58 "Enter Falstaff" is really directly quoted from a F s.d.

⁵⁸See p. 30: "[to Gower]"; 31 (ditto); 41: "[to Doll]"; 51: "[to the Page]"; 54: "[to Warwick]"; etc. Others on this type are taken from Editors—e.g. "[aside to Bardolph]" on p. 31, from Malone.

⁵⁹*Cf.* p. 6: "[A Porter appears on the wall above the gate]"; 15: "[whips . . . him," owing something perhaps to Capell and Irving]; 20 (at bottom); 25: "Yeoman Snare . . . up"; 27: "[She strikes . . . Falstaff]"; 29 (last one); 40 (top one); 46 (last one); 62 (last one); 64: "[Wart . . . action]"; 89: "[he kneels . . . pause]"; 96 (top one); 104 (top one); 113: "[they arrest . . . party]".

For new wording in s.d. which depend on Q and F see pp. 6 (bottom), 15: "The Lord . . . servant"; 26 (first one); 31: "Enter . . . Wales"; 51 (last one); 67, 78, 82 (at top), 105 (top one); 110 (top); etc.

⁶⁰*SAB*, XXI (1946), 116-23.

⁶¹After lines 179 and 192 and for the lining of lines 191-3.

⁶²After lines 204 and 208 for the stage directions.

⁶³On pp. 15 (s.d. at line 55), 21 (first s.d.), 26 (quoted in last s.d.), 36 (last s.d.), 42 (last s.d.), 43 (quoted s.d. at line 108), 44 (s.d. at line 154), 48 (s.d. at line 261—for kissing idea—to which Mr. Wilson adds 10 words), 50 (s.d.), 51 (first 2 s.d.), 52 (quoted in s.d.), 57 (quoted in s.d.), 59 (for *ant* reading in line 109 and elsewhere), 63 (for reading *I'll* in line 240), 73 (for s.d. beginning IV, 2), 76 (for first three s.d.), 87 (for first s.d.), 88 (for first and third s.d.), 89 (for third s.d.), 98 (quoted in s.d. opening V, 2), 103 (in 2 s.d. beginning V, 3), 104 (for s.d. at line 16), 111 (for part of s.d. at line 41).

⁶⁴On pp. 127, 131, 146, 156, 186, 194, 211.

⁶⁵Johnson, pp. 134, 144, 201, 204, etc. Malone p. 200, and see notes 54 and 58 above. Pope, pp. 131, 204, 214, and see note 54 above. See also Rowe above.

⁶⁶See Notes on Induction, line 5; II, 1, 24; II, 2, 99; II, 2, 166-7—this one is commented on in the *TLS*, Sept. 21, and Oct. 12, 1946; II, 4, 47-50; II, 4, 151-3; III, 1, 12; III, 2, 31 (here Mr. Wilson is "showing off" a bit?); III, 2, 281-4; etc., etc.

⁶⁷See notes on I, 1, 153-60 (on Pope and Shakspeare); I, 2, 1 (on actor); I, 2, 202; II, 1, 1-6 (on actors); II, 2, 62; II, 4, 151-2; II, 4, 155-7; III, 1, 17; III, 2, 152-5 (this one sounded like "Kitty" in action); V, 1, 78; V, 5, 98-100.

⁶⁸See notes on I, 1, 34-6; I, 1, 161-2; I, 2, 118; I, 3, 109; etc., etc.

⁶⁹See notes on II, 4, 175 and on s.d. of IV, 1, and of IV, 5. *Anc cf.* note 67 above on actors.

⁷⁰See pp. 146, 150, 204. ⁷¹P. 146. ⁷²See pp. 143 and 167.

⁷³See pp. 142, 143, 170, 202. On p. 171 (note to III, 1, 80-5) and on p. 187 (note to IV, 2, 123) he gets very close to Mr. Tillyard's ideas.

⁷⁴Especially on pp. 180 (III, 2, 329-31), and 187 (IV, 3, 8-9). See also pp. 143 (I, 3, 36-7), 157 (II, 4, 18), and 209 (headnote to V, 5).

⁷⁵See p. 136 (I, 2, 47): "Poss" for *possibly*; "Sh." for Shakspeare (it could be Shaaber?). P. 142 headnote: "Hol." for *Holinsbed*; "acc." for according; "app." for *apparently*. P. 143 (I, 3, 36-7): "wh." for *which*; also on p. 173. P. 172 (III, 2, 9): "Qu" for *Queen*. P. 176 (III, 2, 189-90): "Prob." for *Probably*; P. 188 (IV, 3, 41): "Ju." for *Julius*. This one note of four lines contains 4 abbreviations. P. 214 (Epilogue): "wh. . . . edd . . . par" . . . etc.

⁷⁶P. 168.

⁷⁷Four times in the "Copy" section and 29 times in the Notes. See note 43 above. Did Mr. Shaaber miss the lining problem at V, 3, 110 and V, 4, 28 (Dover Wilson text)? And did he get confused about *most* and *best* in V, 5, 23?

⁷⁸P. 132 (I, 1, 189-90): "A palpable cut"; and p. 182 (IV, 1, 60-1): "Something is prob. [*sic*] lost between these two lines."

⁷⁹See pp. 189 (IV, 3, 79-81), 195 (IV, 5, 51-2), 207 (V, 3, 118-22), and 213 (V, 5, 95-6). Mr. Wilson misses those at V, 1, 16 and 50-53?

⁸⁰See pp. 27, 79, 80 (twice), 112.

⁸¹P. 125.

⁸²Pp. 122-3 and 214.

"THE FOOT OF MOTION"

By RUTH L. ANDERSON

Donalbain (aside to Malcolm)

Our tears are not yet brew'd.

Malcolm (aside to Donalbain)

Nor our strong sorrow

Upon the foot of motion.

(MACBETH, II, iii, 130-131.)

IN the "Clarendon" edition of *Macbeth*, "strong sorrow" is annotated, "Sorrow in its first strength is motionless and cannot express itself in words or tears." This comment Professor Cuninghame repeats in the "Arden" edition of the play and for comparison directs attention to the lines,

The grief that does not speak
Whispers the o'erfraught heart and bids it break.—
(IV, iii, 209-210)

The "Yale" text gives "ready for action" as explanation of "upon the foot of motion". In his recent edition of the play, Professor Adams offers a similar suggestion: "Ready to put itself into motion."

Interpretations suggested here are contrary, I think, to Elizabethan theories of emotion and to the content of the passages from which the lines quoted above are taken. According to Elizabethan thinking sorrow in its "first strength" (see below) need not and does not express itself in words or tears, because it is within the bounds of nature. Only as it creates physical distress does emotion seek expression. The lines quoted by Professor Cuninghame for comparison refer obviously to an intense emotion, one which, as the result of repeated wrongs done against Scotland and finally against Macduff, has grown to such an extent that it must either find relief or destroy the substance of the heart. The speech of Donalbain implies that greater grief is in store for the sons of the murdered Duncan—their tears are "not yet brew'd"; fate may at any time "rush from an auger hole" and seize them. The first words of Malcolm are in agreement with this thought but they

emphasize the inward aspect of grief rather than its expression in teams—"our strong sorrow" is not yet brewed.

What, then, is the meaning of the words, "upon the foot of motion"? Is there anything in the conversation between the sons to justify the annotation, "ready for action," or to indicate that, as Professor Adams implies, the sorrow of the sons is "ready to put itself into motion"? On the contrary, it seems, there has been up to this point a moment of hesitancy "Why do we hold our tongues?"—during which the sons have arrived at one conclusion: their lives are in danger; their safest immediate course is to flee. But flight is never prompted by grief; grief either blunts the heart or enrages it. The only action which follows springs from a fear which leads reason to sense danger and "avoid the aim." Malcolm's speech should be associated not with our word "action" but with an Elizabethan use of the word "motion."

Writers contemporary with Shakspeare frequently define "motion" as a first movement of "appetite"; that is, as a first awakening of an "affection." According to Nemesius (*The Nature of Man*, London, 1636) "motion" is a response of the soul which remains agreeable to nature, whereas an "unseasonable motion" is an "affection" or "passion." In discussing love, La Primaudaye (*The French Academie*, London, 1618) says that as soon as a good is propounded to man it is "well liked of"; that is, it evokes a response. He continues: "And this liking or delight is, as it were, a little pleasant winde of motion in the heart which beginneth to rise and follow after this good." When the liking grows strong it becomes love, one of the primary affections. Here again "motion" signifies an early affective state.

In the light of this reasoning, the words of Malcolm seem to mean that the sudden grief of the sons is but a mild disturbance of the soul in comparison with the tremendous grief that will come from further crime. Following the course of all crescent emotion, as additional murders occur in Scotland, "strong sorrow" will develop in the path of,

or on the base of, their first grief; that is, "upon the foot of motion."¹ The speech of Malcolm is but a continuation of the thought suggested by Donalbain that the future will bring greater cause for tears, a thought stressed again by the sons at the moment of their flight. The two passages are complementary. Donalbain speaks of grief in terms of its expression; Malcolm, in terms of its inward accompanying state. Both imply that the sorrow just begun will increase.²

¹*Cf. Henry IV, V, v, 20*: Seeing all his men "upon the foot of fear," Douglas fled from the battlefield.

²A similar distinction between an emotion as an inward state of the soul and its accompanying physical distress expressing itself in signs appears in *Titus Andronicus*, III, i, 217-218:

Is not my sorrow deep, having no bottom?

Then be my passions bottomless with them.

Terms descriptive of emotion and a few other uses of them in Shakspeare are discussed in my monograph, *Elizabethan Psychology and Shakspeare's Plays*, pp. 68-71.

SOME SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH
CENTURY SATIRE AGAINST MONEY
LENDERS (Concluded)

By BURTON A. MILLIGAN

2. *Satire Against Brokers*

Brokers, or pawnbrokers, were frequently attacked by Tudor and Stuart satirists, mainly because brokers, too, were associated with various types of usury. Like the satire already considered, much of the satire against brokers was general, assuming that public contempt for brokers was so great that no bill of particulars against them was needed. For example, John Taylor, in *The Sculler's Travels* (1612), refers to

The base extorting black sould bribing Broaker,
The Bane of Mankind and his Countries choaker.⁵⁴

The broker is "a slave that lives by fraud," says Taylor elsewhere.⁵⁵ Stubbes, in *The Second Part of the Anatomy of Abuses*, castigates "this dunghill trade of brokerie, newly sprung up, and coined in the devil's minting house."⁵⁶ To Greene, "this base churle" is

one of the moaths of the commonwealth, hee is the spoile of young

gentlemen, a bloud sucker of the poore, as thrifty as a horse leach
that will never leave driiking while hee burst.⁵⁷

"There is no faith in man," says Pietro, in Marston and Webster's *The Malcontent* (c. 1600). "In none but usurers and brokers," replies Malevole; "they deceive no man: men take 'em for bloodsuckers, and so they are."⁵⁸ In Marston's *The Scourge of Villainy* (1598) the satire is even more bitter:

A die, a drab, and filthy broking knaves
Are the world's wide mouths, all-devouring graves.⁵⁹

Few descriptions of the broker are as good natured as John Day's in *The Parliament of Bees* (1641). Day calls him a "moath" who

takes up all petticoats he meets,
Eats Feather-beds, Boulsters, Pillows, Blanquets, Sheets,
And with sale bills lays Shirts and smocks abed
In linen, close adulterie; and, instead
Of cloaths, strows Lavender so strongly on 'em
The owners never more can smell upon 'em.⁶⁰

Lupton puns on the word *broker*: "*Broke Currs* they are in two respects, most of them were broke before they set vp, and Currs for biting so sore euer since they set vp."⁶¹

The knavery of brokers was in the strictest sense proverbial. John Heywood, in *Three Hundred Epigrams upon three hundred proverbes* (1562), said:

Two false knaves need no broker: but it is neede
That brokers breake false knaves felowshyp with speede.⁶²

"It hath been used as a common byword," said Greene, "a craftie Knave needeth no Broker, whereby it should appeare that there can hardlie be a craftier knave then a Broker."⁶³ John Davies, like Heywood, made a new epigram turn on an old proverb. In "Upon English Proverbes" (c. 1611) he wrote:

A false knave needs no brokers: but a broker
Needs a false knave (a hangman or a hooker).⁶⁴

The conventional charges against brokers were: receiving and selling stolen goods, giving loans representing only a fraction of the value of the goods pawned, and exacting forfeits remorselessly on the day loans came due.

The accusation that brokers bought and sold stolen goods and were in league with thieves was made repeatedly. Some of the satirists considered that brokers were morally responsible for the crimes of shoplifters and other thieves, if not actually the instigators of the crimes. The broker, wrote Stubbes,

hath made many a thief more than ever would have bin, & hath brought many a one to a shameful end at Tiburne & elsewhere. Yea, I have herd prisoners (and not any almost but they sing the same song) when they have gone to execution, declaimed & crie out against brookers. For, said they, 'if brokers had not bin, we had not come to this shamefull death; if they would not have received our stollen goods, we woulde never have stollen them; and if we had not stollen them, we had not bin hanged.'⁶⁵

Greene considered brokers "a kind of idle sort of lewd livers, as pernicious as the lift [shoplifter] for they receive at their hands whatsoever Garbage [stolen goods] is conveyed."⁶⁶ "Were not bad brokers," wrote Greene in another place, "there would be lesse filching and fewer thieves."⁶⁷ Dekker declared that "all brokers would make their Wils at Tiborne if the searching for stolne goods which they have Received, should like a plague but once come amongst them."⁶⁸ *Four for a Penny: or Poor Robin's Character of an Unconscionable Pawnbroker* (1678) asserted that the broker "is the treasurer of the thieves' exchequer, the common fender of all bulkers [low-lived persons; rascals] and shoplifts in town."⁶⁹ "The best bargains he buys," said Samuel Butler, "are from thieves and housebreakers, with which he turns Merchant adventurer by sea and land."⁷⁰ In the drama, one finds Frippery, in Middleton's *Your Five Gallants* (1608), exemplifying the broker who received stolen goods.

The niggardliness of the loans advanced by brokers on pawned goods and their general policy of extortion came in for severe satire. Greene charged that a broker would

not advance more than three pounds on a pawn worth at least ten.⁷¹ The author of the broadside ballad "I Would You Never Had Said So" (1618) wrote sarcastically:

The broker in the Hundred takes,
 good man, but Foure score:
 His Conscience is so upright,
 he will not ask for more.⁷²

Impotens, in Day's *The Parliament of Bees* (1641), tells a sorrowful story of how he was fleeced by a broker to whom he pawned his weapons:

I pawned my weapons, to buy course brown bread
 Too feed my fry and me. Being forfeited,
 Twice so much money as he lent I gave,
 To have mine armes againe.⁷³

Four for a Penny asserted with vehemence that the broker's trade "outvies usury as much as incest simple fornication!"⁷⁴ A lamentable ballad, "The Poor People's Complaint of Brokers" (c. 1680), charged brokers with allowing loans equal to only half the value of pawned goods:

But woe to the man that in their hands fall;
 20 shillings-worth of work he must leave for ten
 And extortion must pay e're he hath it agen:
 Oh! are not these a sort of unconscionable men?⁷⁵

"A New Merry Ballad I Have Here" (1629) roundly attacks the rapacity of brokers:

The Broker, his [the Usurer's] brother,
 is as bad or worse:
 If they but a little
 money disburse:
 Theyl sucke out your marrow,
 Your heart's blood also;
 Their dangerous Vipers,
 I tell you but so.⁷⁶

Greene, in *A Quippe for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), testifies to the brokers' merciless seizure of goods on which loans were not promptly paid:

Beside, they extort upon the poore that are inforced through

extreame want to pawn their cloathes and householde stuffe, their pewter and brasse, and if the poor souls that labour hard misse but a day, the base broker takes the forfeit without remorse or pity.⁷⁷

George Wither's *The Scourge* (1617) attacks the same abuse. The whipping Satyr is commanded to

Desire the Brokers that they would not yawne
After the forfeit of another's pawne.
It is their right by Law they'l say, 'tis true;
And so's their soule, perhaps, another's due:
But sting them; if their conscience quite be fled,
Then shall they pay, what they have forfeited.⁷⁸

In its broad particulars the conventionalized portraiture of the broker has already been indicated, but a minor particular or two remain to be considered. One of the conventionalized details of description was the assertion that the broker secured from the hangman many of the clothes displayed in his shop. For instance, in F. D.'s "New Medley" (c. 1620) this assertion is made:

The Broker hath gay clothes to sell
Which from the Hangman's budget fell.⁷⁹

Another typical reference is that in John Taylor's *A Brood of Cormorants*, in which it is said that the Broker

Hangs up the hangman's wardrop at his doore
Which by the hangman hath been hang'd before.⁸⁰

Similarly, Lupton wrote: "They [brokers] are beholden to the Hang-man, for he furnishes their shops."⁸¹ The references to hangmen's clothes in brokers' shops were no doubt figurative rather than literal. The joke suggests the shabby and disreputable appearance of the goods in the brokers' shops and demeans the broker by associating him with the ever-unpopular hangman. In this connection one might remind oneself of lines from Shakspeare's *The First Part of Henry the Fourth* which illustrate the currency of the joke about the hangman's wardrobe. Falstaff says, "Do not thou, when thou art king, hang a thief."

Prince. No; thou shalt.

Fal. Shall I? O rare! By the Lord, I'll be a brave judge.

Prince. Thou judgest false already: I mean thou shalt have the hanging of the thieves and so become a rare hangman.

Fal. Well, Hal, well; and in some sort it jumps with my humour as well as waiting in the court, I can tell you.

Prince. For obtaining of suits?

Fal. Yea, for obtaining of suits, whereof the hangman hath no lean wardrobe.⁸²

In view of the popular hatred of brokers manifest in broadside ballads, characters, and plays, it might be suspected that they would have been the objects of legal restrictions and prosecutions. The suspicion is unjustified, however, except in so far as laws against usury were, or were meant to be, a restriction against abuses by brokers. There was also, it appears, some effort, ineffectively carried out, to limit the number of brokers in London; for Hake complained, in 1579, that there were "hundreds" of brokers in the city, undisturbed by the magistrates, whereas it had once been ordained that their number should not exceed thirty.⁸³ In at least two sermons, preachers condemned brokers as bitterly as the satirists condemned them. Henry Smith (1560-1591) devoted considerable space in the first of his two sermons on "The Examination of Usury" to his contention that pawnbrokers were no better than usurers.⁸⁴ In a sermon preached in 1612, Thomas Adams described the extortion of brokers as "monstrous" and called brokers "the very vermine of the earth."⁸⁵ In 1601, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London addressed a letter to Sir Edward Coke, Queen Elizabeth's Attorney-General, asking support of "a bill preferred to the Parliament for the reformation of abuses practized by brokers in and about this Cittie."⁸⁶ It seems clear again that literary satire was topical and mainly accurate, in spite of its humor, invective, and exaggeration.

3. *Satire Against Goldsmiths*

Goldsmiths enjoyed a generally good reputation for honesty. In fact, the infrequency of satirical attacks on them makes it easy to understand why the hallmark of the Goldsmiths' Company became a guarantee of excellence. Never-

theless, there were occasional charges of dishonesty even against craftsmen enjoying the high repute that goldsmiths had. Among these comparatively isolated attacks on goldsmiths was the charge that goldsmiths dealt in usury.

Greene, in *A Quippe for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), made the charge that goldsmiths dealt in usury.⁸⁷ The charge has some significance, because Greene sought for, and exposed, roguery in high places as well as low and seems to have been mainly reliable. Moreover, William Chaffers, in his history of English goldsmiths, gives credence to Green's indictment:

The old goldsmiths and bankers advanced money upon pledges as pawnbrokers do now, choosing of course the most valuable articles as security. In the early ledgers of Alderman Backwell and Blanchard and Child's accounts may be seen a separate heading of *Pawnes*, to which all interest and profits arising from 'money' lent on pledges, or more marketable security, was placed.⁸⁸

It would be strange indeed had not goldsmiths, who undeniably dealt in money lending, been associated with some of the abuses of money lending. Without further evidence, however, it would be dangerous indeed to assume that most goldsmiths were guilty of usury.

4. *Satire against Grain Hoarders and Speculators*

Nashe, in *Christs Teares over Jerusalem* (1593), was by no means alone in coupling "Usurers and Engrossers of Corne" and in accusing them of "hoording up of gold and graine tyll it is mouldy, rusty, Moath-eaten, and almost infects the ayre with the stincke."⁸⁹ As early as 1509, Barclay wrote, in *The Ship of Fools*, speaking of grain hoarders and speculators:

These wretched folys of mynde ar made so dull
That with theyr money gotten all by fals usury
Of corne and vytaile they stuff thyre houses full
Thereby to ingender nede, and paynfull penury
Unto the pore, that they may wyn therby.
So of all vytayle these wretches get plentye
To sell it derer, whan some great darth shalbe.⁹⁰

That grain hoarders and speculators were linked with

usurers is not strange. Both were in a sense hoarders; both were speculators; both made money engender money; both were merciless to the poor and the needy.⁹¹

* * *

As one reviews the volume of satire against usurers and those accused of usury, one understands better not only the hatred of usury and the reasons for this hatred, but also the genesis of the usurer as a somewhat conventionalized literary type.

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¹Traill, H. D., *Social England*, 6 vols. (New York, 1895), III, 130.

²See *Psalms*, xv, 1 and 5; *Deut.* xxiii, 19-20; *Exod.*, xxii, 25; *Lev.*, xxv, 36.

³Usury, wrote Aristotle, *Politics and Economics*, translated by Edward Walford (London, 1900), p. 25, "has not its origin in nature, but amongst ourselves; for usury is most reasonably detested, as the increase of our fortune arises from the money itself, and not by employing it to the purpose for which it was intended. For it was devised for the sake of exchange, but usury multiplies it . . . and usury is merely money born of money; so that of all means of money-making this is the most contrary to nature."

⁴Rowlands, in "The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine," *Complete Works*, 3 vols. (Glasgow, 1880), I, 53, wrote:

Then that most pretious mettall doth engender:
Begetting daylie more and more encrease.

Middleton, *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 8 vols. (London, 1886), VIII, 18, referred to principal and interest as "money and the breed of it—for interest may well be called the usurer's bastard." Dekker, referring to a certain usurer in *A Knights Conjuring*, reprinted in *Percy Society Publications*, V, 56, said that "he could make one hundred pound be great with child and be delivered with another in a very short time; his money (like pigeons) laid every month." John Davies' "Of Usurers," *Works*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (Edinburgh, 1878), II, 21, compares the productiveness of usurers' money to the productiveness of hares. Orlando, in Dekker's *The Honest Whore, Part II*, II, i, says, denying that he is a usurer: "No, no, no, sir, no! I cannot abide to have money engender: fie upon this silver lechery, fie."

⁵I, iii, 92-97.

⁶Traill, *Social England*, III, 131.

⁷*Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. J. R. Dasent, 32 vols. (London, 1890-1907), XXXI, 379.

⁸Traill, III, 543. Two earlier acts against usury, in 1552 and 1571 (5 and 6 Edward VI, c. 20; 13 Elizabeth, c. 83, failed to lower the ten per cent maximum legal rate of interest established in the act of 1536. These two acts are reprinted in full in Tawney and Power, *Tudor Economic Documents*, 3 vols. (London, 1924), II, 142-143, 160-163.

⁹*Juvenilia*, 2 vols. (Spenser Society, 1871), I, 165-165.

¹⁰*Essays*, ed. W. Aldis Wright (New York, 1926), p. 168.

¹¹*Sermons*, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1871), p. 44.

¹²*The Sermons of Edwin Sandys*, ed. John Ayre (Cambridge University Press, 1842), p. 50.

¹³Smith, *Works*, ed. Thomas Fuller, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1866), I, 88 ff.

¹⁴*The White Devil, or the Hypocrite Uncased* (London, 1613), p. 51.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 53-63.

- ¹⁶*Mystical Bedlam, The World of Mad-men* (London, 1615), pp. 58-59.
- ¹⁷*Anatomy of Abuses*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, New Shakspeare Society, Series 6, VI, 123.
- ¹⁸*Works*, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow, 5 vols. (London, 1910), II, 158.
- ¹⁹*The Blacke Bookes Messenger*, ed. G. B. Harrison (New York, 1924), p. 14.
- ²⁰*The Works of John Taylor: Reprinted from the Folio of 1630* (Spenser Society, 1868), p. 511.
- ²¹*Ibid.*, p. 254.
- ²²*A Strappado for the Divell*, ed. J. B. Ebsworth (Boston, Lincolnshire, 1878), pp. 28-29.
- ²³*The Pepys Ballads*, ed. H. E. Rollins, 6 vols. (Harvard University Press, 1929-1941), II, 119.
- ²⁴See Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (New York, 1929) under "Usurer."
- ²⁵Act II, Scene ii.
- ²⁶"The viii and last Satyr," *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde*, ed. Charles Edmonds (London, 1872).
- ²⁷IV, iii, 4-5. The extent of Master Rash's loss may be gauged by the fact that a mark was 13s, 4d. For a valuable comment on this passage and on the use of commodities generally, see I. D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1834), III, 96.
- ²⁸II, iii.
- ²⁹I, i.
- ³⁰*The Complete Poems of Joseph Hall*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (Manchester, 1879), pp. 122-127.
- ³¹*Skialetheia*, ed. Grosart (Manchester, 1878), p. 10.
- ³²*Works: Reprinted from the Folio of 1630*, p. 489.
- ³³*The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, ed. H. F. B. Brett-Smith (Oxford, 1922), p. 48.
- ³⁴*Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, 3 vols. (London, 1864), III, 18.
- ³⁵II, ii; III, i.
- ³⁶II, ii.
- ³⁷II, i.
- ³⁸V, vii.
- ³⁹Cf. Nashe's description, *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, 162-163, of the dirty, ragged, and repulsive usurer encountered by Pierce Penilesse at Westminster.
- ⁴⁰*The Good and the Bad*, reprinted in *Archaica*, ed. E. Brydges, 2 vols. (London, 1815), I, 25.
- ⁴¹*Works*, I, 53.
- ⁴²Budge is a fur prepared from lambskin.
- ⁴³Rowlands, *op. cit.*, I, 53.
- ⁴⁴*The Old Book Collector's Miscellany*, ed. C. Hindley, 3 vols. (London, 1871-1873), III, 1-7. This pamphlet is a dialogue between a nurse and a maid employed by a usurer. A good share of it consists of the usurer's buying a pullet for his sick wife, deciding to save the feathers and take them home under his hat, and losing the feathers when he has to raise his hat to the Lord Mayor.
- ⁴⁵*Epigrams and Satyres* (Edinburgh, 1840), pp. 23-24.
- ⁴⁶Middleton, *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 8 vols. (London, 1886), VIII, 17.
- ⁴⁷Marston, *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 3 vols. (London, 1887), III, 328.
- ⁴⁸*Works*, I, 13.
- ⁴⁹*Works*, ed. Bullen, VIII, 28.
- ⁵⁰III, ii, 9-10.
- ⁵¹V, vi, 72-85.
- ⁵²II, ii.
- ⁵³*Dramatic Works of Richard Brome*, 3 vols. (London, 1873), III, 284.
- ⁵⁴*The Works of John Taylor* (Manchester, 1868), p. 511.
- ⁵⁵See Taylor's laudatory verses to Thomas Heywood prefacing *An Apology for Actors* (London, Shakespeare Society, 1841), p. 12.
- ⁵⁶*The Second Part of the Anatomy of Abuses*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, New Shakspeare Society, Series 6, XII, 39.
- ⁵⁷*Works*, ed. Grosart, XI, 243.
- ⁵⁸IV, iv.

- ⁵⁹*Works*, ed. Bullen, III, 318.
- ⁶⁰*Works of John Day*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 2 vols. (London, 1881), I, 63.
- ⁶¹*London and the Countrey Carbonadoed* (Edinburgh, 1884), p. 73.
- ⁶²*Proverbs and Epigrams of John Heywood* (London, Spenser Society, 1867), p. 135.
- ⁶³*Second Part of Conny-catching*, ed. G. B. Harrison (New York, 1923), p. 49.
- ⁶⁴*Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, 2 vols. (Edinburgh University Press, 1878), II, 43. The reference to hangmen takes its meaning from the fact that the clothing of executed prisoners belonged to hangmen and could be disposed of by them. Hookers were sneak thieves, equipped with long hooks, who stole clothing out of bedroom windows and, presumably, sold it to brokers. See my article, "Spenser's Malengin and the Rogue-Book Hooker," *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (April, 1940), pp. 147-148.
- ⁶⁵*The Second Part of the Anatomy of Abuses*, ed. Furnivall, New Shakspeare Society, Series 6, XII, 39.
- ⁶⁶*The Second Part of Conny-catching*, ed. Harrison, p. 47.
- ⁶⁷*Works*, ed. Grosart, XI, 245.
- ⁶⁸*Harleian Miscellany*, 10 vols. (London, 1808-1813), VIII, 179.
- ⁶⁹*Characters and Passages from Note-Books*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge University Press, 1908), p. 202.
- ⁷¹*Works*, ed. Grosart, XI, 243.
- ⁷²*Pepys Ballads*, ed. Rollins, I, 125.
- ⁷³*Works*, ed. Bullen, I, 64.
- ⁷⁴*Harleian Miscellany*, VIII, 179.
- ⁷⁵*Pepys Ballads*, III, 88.
- ⁷⁶*Pepys Ballads*, II, 120.
- ⁷⁷*Works*, ed. Grosart, XI, 245.
- ⁷⁸*Juvenilia*, 2 vols. (Manchester, Spenser Society, 1871), II, 338.
- ⁷⁹*The Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. William Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth, 9 vols. (London, 1871), I, 61.
- ⁸⁰*Works of John Taylor: Reprinted from Folio of 1630*, p. 489.
- ⁸¹*London and the Countrey Carbonadoed*, p. 73.
- ⁸²I, ii, 69-82.
- ⁸³"The Seauenth Satyr," *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde*, ed. Charles Edmonds (London, 1872).
- ⁸⁴*Works of Henry Smith*, ed. Thomas Fuller, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1866), I, 94-95.
- ⁸⁵*The White Devil, or The Hypocrite Uncased* (London, 1613), p. 50.
- ⁸⁶This letter is reprinted by Frank Aydelotte, *Elizabethan Rogues and Vagabonds* (Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 164, from *Remembrancia*, ii, 213 (fo, 63 verso).
- ⁸⁷*Works*, ed. Grosart, XI, 277.
- ⁸⁸*Gilda Aurifabrorum: A History of English Goldsmiths and Plateworkers*, London, 1899), p. 77.
- ⁸⁹*Works*, ed. McKerrow, II, 158, Cf. Overbury, *Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse*, ed. E. F. Rimbault (London, 1856), p. 132.
- ⁹⁰*The Ship of Fools*, ed. T. H. Jamieson, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1874), II, 167.
- ⁹¹For further details about conventionalized satire against grain speculators, see Celeste Turner Wright, "Some Conventions Regarding the Usurer in Elizabethan Literature," *Studies in Philology*, XXXI (1934), 195, and my own article, "16th- and 17th-Century Satire Against Grain Engrossers," *Studies in Philology*, XXXVII (1940), 585-597.

FRENCH TRANSLATION OF A PASSAGE IN *LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST*

The prayful Princesse pearst and prickt a prettie pleasing Pricket.
Some say a Sore, but not a sore, till now made sore with shooting.
The Dogges did yell, put ell to Sore, then Sorell jumps from thicket:
Or Pricket-sore, or else Sorell, the people fall a hooting.
If Sore be sore, then ell to Sore, makes fiftie sores O sorell:
Of one sore I an hundred make by adding but one more L.

Various translations of this whimsical and complicated "Epytaph on the death of the Deare" by the preposterous Holophernes are collected in the Furness Variorum Edition (1904), pp. 382-84. There seems to be no adequate French translation. I have essayed one, following the schemes of metre and rhyme, with alliterations ('affecting the letter') and wordplays. As Holophernes must use technical and archaic terms of the chase, strange to the average reader, a brief glossary is in order. If this deserves the rebuke that it is in bad taste as the dissection of a joke, the apology is that the whole epitaph is an ingenious masterpiece of bad taste, in keeping with the character of the speaker.

bois (sg.), A deer's antlers; also a wood.

daguer, v., line 1, To 'pierce'n/ a beast of the chase with a *dague*, A pointed weapon; also the first pricke or horn of a young deer or pricket;

daguer, line 4, To strike with the horns (said of a deer); also Se coupler avec la daine (idem).

daguet = *dagard* (dim.), A pricket or deer of the first head.

damage, old form of *dommage*.—Line 2, daim agé dagué = *damagé daguet*.

elle, line 5, = L; L = *elle*.

faon, (rhymes with *paon*, *quand*, etc.) A fawn;—*faonet* = *faonel*, diminutives of *faon*.—*faonner*, v., To give birth to a fawn.—Line 5, *faonet* et *faon* = *faonné*.—*faonel* = *faon* - L.

huage (the h—is aspirated), The yell (Shaks. = L) of the retainers when the quarry is at bay (aux abois).

meute, A pack of hounds.

L'Épitaphe sur la Mort du Daim.

La demoiselle *dague* et *darde* un doulx daim au beau bois.

Pas *daguet*, mais daim agé dagué, Madame, o *damage*!

La meute aboie; et dans le bois le daim est aux abois.

Ou daim, *daguet*, ou bien *dagard*, il *dague*. On fait *huage*.

Sa daine *faonne*; elle, et *faon*, *faonet*, font *faonel*. Or L

Fait cinquante faons. J'en fais cent si j'ajoute encor L.

JOHN PHELPS

Baltimore

NOTE—For Elizabethan puns on 'pierce' and other wordplays in *Love's Labour's Lost* see the author's 'Father Parsons in Shakespeare,' Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen, etc. (Berlin, 1914), Vol. 133, pp. 66 ff.; also W. R. Dunstan, Times Literary Supplement. Oct. 30th, 1943, p. 523.

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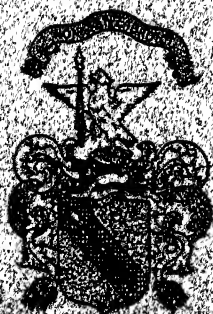
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July, 1947

Vol. XXII

The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



In Defense of *Audie*

Robert and His Friends as "Guest" Poets

Two Shakespearean Epigrams

Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*

Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*

Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*

Headquarters: 601 WEST 113TH STREET
New York 25, N. Y.

The Shakespeare Association of America aims to unite all the lovers of the poet and to encourage and enlarge the widespread interest in his works. It will serve as a means of communication in the Shakespearean world, reporting what is being done in his honor or service, whether on the stage or in the schoolroom, in club or in university. Its purpose includes co-operation in every enterprise that will be helpful to a knowledge of the man and his works, whether scholarly, educational, or theatrical.

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IN DEFENSE OF EMILIA

By THOMAS D. BOWMAN

FEW subsidiary Shakspeare characters play as important a dramatic role as Iago's wife Emilia in *Othello*. She enables Iago to get possession of the incriminating handkerchief; she fails to explain its whereabouts when opportunity presents itself; and she thereby is a powerful agent in turning Othello's doubt into conviction of guilt and in hastening her innocent mistress' death. Because of these actions or circumstances, modern theatre audiences have been morally antagonistic towards her. They have considered her more sinning than sinned against, and her final eloquent defense of Desdemona's honor and exposure of Othello's murderous folly but poor amends for her previous tragedy-breeding mischief.

However, the author's contention in this paper is that this popular conception is antithetical to Shakspeare's purpose, that Emilia is meant to be a consistently sympathetic character. Interpreted rightly, she is likeable from the start and throughout: the unconscious victim of tragic error, it is true, yet unswervingly loyal in her sentiments, well-meaning and generous in her impulses, righteous in her intentions, and sensible in her moral standards. Let us analyze her actions and motives in the light of this point of view.

The most popular accusation against Emilia is that she gave Iago Desdemona's handkerchief. The only objection to this accusation is its complete untruth. Iago obtained the handkerchief by force, and against her will.¹ Upon finding it, Emilia's first intention is temporary appropriation. She will not steal it; she'll but keep it long enough to duplicate the embroidery and then return it. Anything but theft to please the whims of that wayward husband who had nagged her so often to filch the original!

But with Iago's appearance she cannot refrain from informing him that she possesses his cherished prize. Therein lies the basic tragic error of Emilia, the one that catapults her beloved mistress to disaster. Still, this is too good

an opportunity to tease. When again will she have the chance to inform her unappreciative husband that realization of his desires is at her disposal?

And yet, Emilia does not *give* the handkerchief to Iago. Loyalty still impels her to return it to Desdemona. Hence she but tauntingly dangles it before his gaze; and, with his lunge, tantalizingly withdraws it from his grasp. But then, in possibly a half amorous skirmish, Iago extricates it from her possession and triumphantly places it in his pocket. Having obtained it, he sees no need to impart its future use.

Here Emilia is guilty of nothing more grievous than tardiness in returning mislaid property and a most excusable desire to prove she can be significant in her husband's life and intentions. And yet from such innocent impulses all later tragedy stems!

A short time later Iago, alone with Othello, implies that Cassio had received the "napkin" as a love token.² Othello is expeditious about putting the slander to the test. He distracts his bride by magnifying the importance of its possible loss,³ and in great agitation demands that it be fetched and displayed.⁴ Emilia is now present. She witnesses the perturbation and rage of those she loves and serves, yet she makes no attempt to assuage either. Had she revealed the whereabouts of the keepsake, the very heart would have been removed from the body of Iago's damning evidence. Her silence here is one of the most puzzling aspects of the play. Surely it reflects disloyalty, unpardonable self-interest, and craven cowardice! She allows Othello to become convinced of his wife's guilt merely to escape chastisement for a petty piece of misbehavior! Such is the general reaction.

And yet Emilia's most damaging silence again stems from innocent and decent impulses. For one thing it is here that her worldly knowledge of man's susceptibility to jealousy works to her mistress' disadvantage. Emilia reasons that Othello's fury and bullyragging must be motivated by something more profound than the loss of a sentimental trifle. She is certain in her own mind that the missing handkerchief is but a subterfuge, a convenient device on which to hang deeper grievances still unexpressed. As wife to an

unreasonably jealous husband,⁵ she has learned that these husbands are given to petty indirection in their accusations. They often hide their basic marital grievances and exercise their displeasure by fastening upon a peccadillo. A modern husband can be out of his wits at his wife's extravagance, yet merely nag her because the toast is burnt at breakfast. Such silently introspective nursing of marital wounds is common to connubial experience and masculine psychology. Emilia has this knowledge, but mistakenly applies it. She reasons: this spat isn't over the handkerchief at all. It's something deeper — maybe jealousy. Why then bring the business up? It would be but needlessly disadvantageous to Iago and me, and would cure nothing.⁶

Moreover, one should bear in mind that Emilia's tragic silence here is partially motivated by loyalty to that mistress whom she had learned to love from the start. Hadn't Desdemona herself said she had not lost the handkerchief, that she could produce it then and there had she a mind to defer to Othello's unreasonable browbeating? Why then should Emilia produce evidence that would prove her mistress a liar, especially since she is certain the handkerchief's loss is not Othello's basic concern?

Still another damaging but most overstressed piece of evidence against Emilia's character is her advice to Desdemona in the bedroom scene.⁸ Othello had promised to return forthwith. Desdemona is eager to look her best, believing it will be a mission of love. Still she is hurt by the indignities of the afternoon. With unpardonable vulgarity he had pretended she was a professional prostitute, he her customer, and Emilia her bawd.⁹ Never before this frantic display of revulsion had Desdemona realized wives could be suspected, let alone deserving of the accusation. She asks Emilia whether there are wives who abuse their husbands, and vows that she would not do such a deed for the whole world. Emilia replies that diligent search would reveal a few such wives; that darkness would befit such a deed better than moonlight; and, with most clever sophistry, that the world as reward would enable the wrongdoer to turn the wrong to a right.

Such assertions do not condemn Emilia as a loose-moraled woman. She is rather sensibly though gently re-

buking her girlish charge for exaggerated trust in her own sex. Emilia realizes such all-encompassing trust in the technical purity of wifehood reflects an innocence too strongly grounded in ignorance to be completely becoming. The faith of this sheltered, artless, and now abused girl, goes beyond the endurance of this knowing woman of the world. She is old enough now to know something about the fallibility of womanhood. The shallow trust of the callow and young is always a bit galling to the worldly and experienced. The temptation to put them wise is natural.

But, one might say, Emilia herself maintains she would be eager to cuckold her husband. Can one condone that? It is true she would, but "for all the world," and most definitely not for the customary gimcracks and seducers. Here again Emilia's admission is more the gentle rebuke of innocent ignorance than callous and indelicate self-condemnation. Desdemona's vow is obviously the carelessly hyperbolic assertion of one who has never known the power of temptation. She should be given an inkling as to what her words exactly mean. She should have the wit to sense the normal weakness of human resistance if possibly confronted with such a reward. Therefore if one pauses to weigh the exact meaning of Desdemona's vow, Emilia's "in troth, I think I should" but places her in the category of normal womanhood and not with those of blunted moral sensibilities. Before she is condemned for her frank admission, let universal womanhood search its heart and find what's there.

Emilia's final speech in Act IV is a much neglected piece of evidence substantiating the strength of her loyalty. It is also a most fervent and eloquent defense of sex equality and the single standard of morality. If read aright, this speech would cause any but the most bigoted of wives to take Emilia to their hearts and forever. The gist of Emilia's heated discourse is that husbands are in large part to blame when their wives fall. She is incensed at Othello's unwarranted and foul accusations. He is obviously unreasonably suspicious; he had struck his wife before guests; he had unjustly inflicted indignities upon her beloved charge. These abuses simply can't be dismissed without eloquent diatribe. Before husbands conduct themselves thus they

should realize their wives have a revenge peculiarly at their disposal, namely, infidelity. In Desdemona's circumstances is not a wife justified in utilizing that inherent form of revenge? In Emilia's estimation she is. When a wife is unjustifiably accused, let her become deserving of the accusation. Let men know too that what is sport for them, so frequently engaged upon under the rose, is just as much sport for women. It is not the business of women to be faithless promiscuously. But it is the business of men to realize the possibility and justifiability of faithlessness when they themselves are sportively so or unwarrantably suspicious. "Then let them use us well."

Certainly such advice should not detract one whit from our admiration of Emilia. It is presented more to keep men loving and trustful than to urge women to be untrue. It is impelled by a sense of the injustice of man's domination through the ages, not by pernicious intention. It is the argument of a frank and strong woman to whom all-enduring subservience is abhorrent.

Emilia's loyal and eloquent defense of her dead mistress' honor, her forthright disclosure of her husband's villainy, and her consequent martyrdom are too well known to require comment. Suffice it to say that her last words in life:

Moor, she was chaste; she lov'd thee, cruel Moor;

So come my soul to bliss, as I speak true;

So speaking as I think, alas, I die.

are Shakspeare's final and strongest plea for us to judge her sympathetically. Shakspeare is never given to playing ducks and drakes with his audience's emotional reactions to his characters. He never insists that we dislike a character only until it fits his purpose to have us like him. If we love his creations at the end, we should begin to love them at the start. Therefore Emilia's earlier conduct should be analyzed more in the light of her final martyrdom. And, if we judge her by her impulses rather than by the consequences of those impulses, we must place her in the gallery of Shakspeare's sympathetically drawn minor char-

acters. Her weaknesses, even though catastrophic in consequence, are human and understandable enough to make her loveable.

Pennsylvania State College

State College, Pa.

¹Cf. III. iii. 290-320.

²Cf. III. iii. 433-9.

³Cf. III. iv. 55-68.

⁴Cf. III. iv. 85.

⁵Cf. I. iii. 391-6.

⁶In view of Emilia's silence here, Desdemona's first comment in her defense, "Alas, she has no speech," has an almost unendurably tragic and ironic significance. Cf. II. i. 104.

⁷Cf. III. iv. 86-8.

⁸Cf. IV. iii. 60-106.

⁹Cf. IV. ii. 1-94.

PEELE AND HIS FRIENDS AS "GHOST"-POETS

By GEORGE B. PARKS

PERHAPS I should have taken the title of this paper from a motto, a very well-known motto, of two Elizabethan soldier-poets, Gascoigne and Raleigh. The motto was *Tam Marti quam Mercurio* — both Mars and Mercury — or, more freely, *With Sword and Pen*. The motto was legitimate for Gascoigne and Raleigh, and it was deserved by other Elizabethan men of action. We need not be surprised if it was sometimes displayed where it was not deserved.

That is to say: the poet's crown was bestowed, during Elizabeth's reign, on no less important personages than Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher. Specifically, these three foremost naval officers were made into poets, as being the ostensible authors, along with six other equally unexpected men of action, of nine testimonial poems prefixed to a book of 1583. The book was a semi-official work of colonial propaganda (to speak in modern terms). Its sponsorship was unimpeachable, and the authorship of the poems has not hitherto been impeached. It is my somewhat thankless task to indict the sponsors for conspiracy — to allege that the book covers a series of mystifications — to deny that the gallant gentlemen were poets. I must add that they probably never claimed to be.

In exposing the mystifications, I am aware that a number of reputations come into question. Among the sponsors of the book were the secretary of state, Sir Francis Walsingham; a distinguished Catholic gentleman, Sir George Peckham; a conscientious editor, Richard Hakluyt; and two young Oxford poets, Matthew Roydon and, I believe, George Peele, who must both have had a major part in the conspiracy. Peele has not hitherto been known in this context. If we now find that he was not merely "ghost"-writer but even "ghost"-poet, we shall be discovering for him a most elusive distinction: for I cannot imagine that ghost-versifying is an extensive practice, and indeed I cannot call to mind any other examples of the kind.

The book was a pamphlet printed late in 1583 as *A True Reporte, Of the late discoueries, and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of Englande, Of the Newfound Landes: By . . . Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight*. The preliminary poems vary in number in different copies of the book, as I learn from Professor Fredson T. Bowers, the largest number being ten, as in the Huntington copy. The names subscribed to the poems are those of Sir William Pelham, general recently commanding in Ireland; Sir Francis Drake, recently knighted after his circumnavigation; John Hawkins; and John Achelley, merchant of London. The ham, Captain Martin Frobisher, and Captain John Chester, ship-captains in the Elizabethan sense, that is commanders rather than navigators. And there were three merchants: Anthony Parkhurst of Bristol, a backer of Gilbert; Arthur Hawkins; and John Achelley, merchant of London. The first three of these nine persons were probably interested in the Gilbert enterprise in only a general way, and were used as a "front"; the others were, probably or certainly, interested as "adventurers" (subscribers) or as "enterprisers" (participants). One more author is set down among these nine men of action: Matthew Roydon, newly M. A. of Oxford and a known poet, who addresses rather the author of the book than, like the others, the enterprise itself.

Now some of these men of action might have written verse. Drake and Hawkins, for example, were not mere salty sea-dogs, and Hawkins especially, as chief administrative officer of the navy, was quite able to express himself, at least in prose. Of the merchants, Parkhurst had written a highly literate description of Newfoundland which Hakluyt was later to print.² On the other hand, we know that Martin Frobisher had difficulties with the pen, and as we lengthen the list of our ostensible poets to the full nine, we increase our doubts of their talent. One or two might have written verse to be smoothed out by a professional writer, but not nine, we suppose.

The doubts become imperative when we look at the poems themselves. One echoes another in idea, as perhaps we should expect, sounding the call to fame, to wealth, and to patriotism. One echoes another, moreover, in their smooth fluency. And, most striking indication of a skilled

rather than an untutored hand, one echoes another in the neat packaging of the idea, which is normally developed in a 1-2-3-and-summary fashion. These were professional poets, in sum: or rather, these were *a* professional poet.

Examples will speak louder than my words.

Sir Fraunces Drake Knight in commendation of this Treatise.

Who seekes, by worthie deedes, to gaine renowme for hire:
Whose hart, whose hand, whose purse is prest: to purchase his desire[:]
If any such there bee, that thristeth after Fame:
Lo, heere a mean, to winne himselfe an euerlasting name.
Who seekes, by gaines and wealth, t'aduanche his house and blood:
Whose care is great, whose toile no lesse, whose hope, is all for good
If anie one there bee, that couettes such a trade:
Lo, heere the plot for common wea[l]th, and priuate gaine is made.
Hee, that for vertues sake, will venture farre and neere:
Whose zeale is strong, whose practize trueth, whose faith is void of feere,
If anie such there bee, inflamed with holie care.
Heere may hee finde, a readie meane, his purpose to declare:
So that, for each degree, this Treatise dooth vnfolde:
The path to Fame, the prooffe of zeale, and way to purchase golde.

Fraunces Drake.

M. John Hawkins, his opinion of this intended Voyage.
If zeale to God, or countries care, with priuate gaines accesse,
Might serue for spurs vnto th'attempt this pamphlet doth expresse.
One coast, one course, one toile might serue, at ful to make declard
A zeale to God, with countries good, and priuate gaines regarde.

And so on, with apt allusions, by way of distinction from the preceding poem, to the colonial history of Rome and of Troy, clearly got up for the occasion.

The Bristol merchant, Anthony Parkhurst, rings the same changes.

Beholde a worke that dooth reueale,
The ready way to welth and fame.
Commodious to the common weale.
And just without impeache of blame.

Ironically enough, it is the heavy-handed Frobisher who here blossoms into the soul of wit, compressing into

the briefest space the ideas developed at greater length in the other poems:

Maister Captaine Frobisher, in commendation of the voyage.
 A Pleasaunt ayre, a sweet and firtell soile,
 A certaine gaine, a neuer dying praise:
 An easie passage, voide of lothsome toile,
 Found out by some, and knowen to mee the waies.
 All this is there, then who will refraine to trie:
 That loues to liue abroad, or dreads to die.

I add the one authentic poem in order to show a different quality of style, I think, a less smooth air and a more subtle.

Mathew Roydon Maister of Arte to his fellowe Student.
 To praise thy booke because I am thy freende,
 Though it be common, and thy due indeede:
 Perhaps it may some daintie care offende,
 Reproofe repines that vertue hath her meede.
 Yet neuerthesse how euer thinges succede,
 Sith to no other ende thy booke was made:
 All that I wish, is that thou mayest perswade.

We know that Roydon could write verse, for he had already published, with Peele and others, a testimonial poem in Thomas Watson's *Passionate Century of Love* of the year before, Watson being also an Oxford poet; and Roydon was later to publish an elegy for Sidney with Spenser's "Astrophel". But the other supposed poets, the nine smoothly professional writers? The mystification begins to be amazing. Surely no editor could expect a reader to believe in this array of famous men as poets. Surely no reader could fail to see the audacity of these lying testimonials. The mystification sounds almost juvenile, especially if, as we must suppose, the soldiers and merchants permitted the use of their names.

But before we can guess the real author of these poems, we shall have to uncover more mystery. We shall have to ask who wrote the book, and why.

The pamphlet is the first and only separately published account of Sir Humfrey Gilbert's disastrous voyage to

North America in 1583. Though called *A True Reporte*, it is not really a report of the voyage at all, except as the events are briefly summarized in the first few pages. It is instead an argument and a prospectus for carrying on Gilbert's colonial project, despite Gilbert's own failure to find a colonial site, to bring back the men and materials for settlement, which were shipwrecked, or even to bring himself back, for he was still unreported when the pamphlet was finished some seven weeks after the return of the one surviving vessel. Gilbert was never heard from; but his backers were attempting in this prospectus to gloss over the failure, and to invite support for a following enterprise. They may have succeeded. At least Raleigh, Gilbert's half-brother, carried on, and did establish a colony in Virginia.

A True Reporte was neither a report, nor true: at least it was not true to the ominous facts of Gilbert's failure. Furthermore, it threw a thick veil of mystery over its author or authors, not only in the poems which were so brazenly "ghost"-written for it, but also in the authorship of the book itself.

There ought not to be any question of the authorship. In 1589 Hakluyt reprinted the *Reporte*, with another complete and authentic unpublished account of the voyage, in the first edition of his *Principall Navigations*,³ first shearing away as usual the dedication and the testimonial verses which provided the mystery, and also omitting the last pages which announced the cost of shares in the now defunct colony. In reprinting merely the body of the book, Hakluyt categorically labeled it as "Written by Sir George Peckham Knight, the chiefe aduenturer, and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilbertes voyage to Newfound land." This ascription was repeated in Hakluyt's 1600 edition, and was naturally accepted by Purchas. It has not, I think, been challenged.

I wish now to argue that Peckham was probably only part author of the text which Hakluyt reprinted; that he did not write the original dedication, which is signed with his initials G. P.; and that Peele and his friends were concerned in both the text and the dedication as well as in the verses.

The pamphlet was published anonymously, the authorship being revealed in the dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, by "Your Honours poore Scholler. . G. P.", which is dated "From my lodging in Oxforde, the tweluth of Nouember". G. P. cannot be Sir George Peckham, as we have always assumed. In 1583 he was nearing fifty, he was a knight, he had entertained the Queen at his estate in Buckinghamshire, he had been high sheriff of the county.⁴ He was not only an important land-owner, but he must have had considerable wealth if he was the "chiefe aduenturer" or investor in Gilbert's enterprise. He could not have been a "poore Scholler".

It is true that Peckham was a Catholic and a recusant, and it is now understood that in obtaining from Gilbert by sub-patent an enormous tract of North America, he was arranging, with Walsingham's connivance, a means of escape for English Catholics to America.⁵ He and Walsingham might therefore have wished to conceal from the public, and from the disapproving Catholic powers abroad as well, his and his fellow-Catholics' interest in an oversea refuge.

Sir George had other reasons for taking on a mask. As the principal furtherer of the first expedition, which had so signally failed, he was not the most convincing person to argue the success of the next expedition. And again, it was not then the custom for the gentry to advertise their connection with money-making, or at least investing, schemes. For all or any of these reasons, Peckham must have sought an outsider to father his prospectus.

Or is it possible that he actually wrote himself down, with tongue in cheek, a "poore Scholler"? at the same time assuming in his dedication the apologetic style of a young and obscure man, and in the text the pedantic style of a student? We must ask the question, though the answer seems obvious. As joke perhaps, it might please the knight to disguise himself as a young man in a lodging at Oxford, for he himself had had such a lodging as recently as ten years before. To be sure, his lodging was the principal's rooms in Gloucester Hall, and hardly suitable for a poor scholar. Perhaps it was a joke, which was carried through in the embarrassed beginning of the dedication:

How much more happie might I account my selfe
.. if I had so well applied my time in this Vniuersitie,
as through my more dilligent studye, I were able to
handle the matter . . .

But the joke cannot be carried through the text of the

Reporte, with its evident inside knowledge of the enterprise. Nor can it easily stand the shock of discovering that one respectable member of the university, Matthew Roydon, M. A., who must have been in the secret, also contributed to the deception by writing his testimonial poem to "his fellowe Student" about "thy booke," calling himself "thy freende." Roydon took his M. A. in 1580, and was presumably still a young man; Sir George's student days were long past, dating back before 1554 when he married. Peckham could not have been Roydon's fellow-student, even in jest. Peckham could not have been G. P., and he could not have written the dedication.

If Peckham did not write the dedication, did he write the text of the *Reporte*? G. P. claimed it in his dedication, and Roydon backed him up in his poem. Hakluyt, on the other hand, whom we cannot lightly discredit, claimed it for Peckham. Can we perhaps reconcile these claims? By walking a rather narrow knife-edge, we might steer a course between them. In engaging G. P. to write the dedication and appear as ostensible author, Peckham may also have turned over his manuscript to G. P. to copy and to amplify. In so far as he may have revised and amplified, G. P. might then, in the natural pride of youth, have persuaded himself that he had written the book himself in developing the older man's incompetent sketch (as he could have thought it). Certainly Roydon could not have believed that his friend wrote the book unless there had been some contribution from G. P., and enough of a contribution for both G. P. and Roydon to believe in G. P.'s authorship. In sum, unless outright lying was going on, I conclude that Peckham and G. P. were the co-authors of the text.

Such a conclusion is supported by the strong suggestion of two hands engaged in the writing. One writer was official and authoritative on the facts, having an inside knowledge of the Gilbert arrangements: this could not have been the

poore scholler. The other writer was pedantically inclined, or shall we say merely academic? running through his biblical and patristic histories to support, beyond all need, the argument that colonies were legitimate; running also through recent travel-books to find a serried list of precedents for colonizing. As the matter of the two writers varies, so does the style. Sometimes it is somewhat fumbling and undirected; sometimes it is serried and academic. Now it is possible that Peckham still retained the academic habits of documentation and of a scholastic Latinity of style; but since we are obliged to find two authors, we may distinguish them by assigning to G. P. the academic matter and form. I have, for my own amusement, divided the book between the two authors, assigning somewhat less than one-third to G. P.: but I set up no strong claims for my judgment. I need only demonstrate the possibility of distinguishing two authors. I do not need to demonstrate the fact of joint authorship, which is proved by the testimony of Roydon and G. P., on the one hand, and of Hakluyt on the other.

In reprinting the text, Hakluyt made no change in it except to omit the investment details at the end. So he saved the appearances. But knowing Hakluyt, I guess that he hoped that the wretched little book, with its faked authorship and its ghost-written poems, would be forgotten, and not rise up to haunt his editorial conscience.

For he himself was in a way responsible for the original faking. He was responsible because he was not on hand himself to take charge of the pamphlet. This surprising inference comes from asking a further question, why on earth did Peckham go to Oxford to find an author for a pamphlet to be published in London for the benefit of the city and the court? I can see but one answer, and that is that Hakluyt was in Oxford, and had already published two books relative to American colonizing. He was already an authority, and he had worked with Peckham in the venture. If Peckham went to Oxford for his author, he must have been looking for Hakluyt. I add that Peckham's home was at Denham in Bucks, in the next county to Oxford.

But Hakluyt was not in Oxford in the fall of 1583. He had left England for a post in the Paris embassy on Sep-

tember 28, six days after the return of the one surviving vessel of Gilbert's fleet. Instead of Hakluyt, Peckham must have collected G. P. and probably Roydon to work on his book, which was finished, except perhaps for some of the poems, by November 12. Who was G. P.?

3

I do not know. He may most simply have been Sir George's son George, who matriculated at Exeter College in 1575 when he was 14, and who, being now of age, shared with his father in an American land grant from Gilbert. Young George had at least the beginning of a university education, he had an interest in the American venture, and he was young enough to qualify as Roydon's fellow-student—if he was a student. We know no more about him, and cannot say whether he was still at Oxford and had a lodging there, whether he could write, whether he was well read or could be well coached in the church historians and the historians of travel who are quoted in the book, whether he was a friend to Roydon. If *he* was G. P., it is simple enough to suppose that Sir George turned the book over to him, and that he got Roydon to write or procure the poems. But we know nothing more about young George than that he was his father's son.

To look for other G. P.'s is not to hunt for needles in haystacks. We know nothing about a George Portington, or a Geoffrey Percivale; George Pettie had left long since; and George Puttenham is not recorded at Oxford. We are left with George Peele.

Peele was in residence at Oxford from 1572 to 1581, and was a student of Christchurch, as was Hakluyt. Hakluyt was in residence from 1570 to 1583. Roydon took his M. A. in 1580, the only fact known of his university life. For Peele, he was back in Oxford in 1583: in March to appear in the university court, and in June to help his friend William Gager, also of Christchurch and also a friend of Hakluyt's, in productions of his plays. He may have been there also in October, and available for Peckham's purpose.

I admit that we do not know of Peele's writing anything else like the *Reporte*. Nor do we know of any link between him and Peckham, except by way of Hakluyt—

but this exception is enough. Otherwise Peele qualifies as a fellow-student of Roydon's, a poor scholar, and a poet. To be sure, we do not need to find a poet to be G. P., writing a prose dedication and revising a prose text. But having found a G. P. who was friend of Roydon, we certainly find it convenient to have him a poet too, competent to write the nine testimonial poems. To be sure, Roydon might have written them, though they do not sound much like him; or perhaps Thomas Watson; or X. But Peele, being available as G. P., is the most likely candidate for the authorship of the poems as well as the prose.

If we look at Peele's first extant poems, the earlier *Tale of Troy*, his poem in Watson's *Passionate Century*, his forthcoming first play, *The Arraignment of Paris*, we find that they were written in an effortless but not distinguished verse, like the poems in *A Reporte*. It is true that Peele's extant verse is usually pentameter, while these poems vary between pentameter and "fourteener"; but so does *The Arraignment*, thus showing that Peele was still free in 1584 to write in the sixes and sevens of the period before Marlowe and Spenser. In the *Reporte* poems, the style is not unlike the early Peele's, simple and even a little awkward, showing no sign of the later florid style of the revised *Tale of Troy*, or the lyric strain or the Marlowe line in his later plays. He could have written the *Reporte* poems; he was there to do them; he probably did them.

I do not know how much this little detective story proves. We need no ghost come from the grave to tell us that persons who sign testimonials do not necessarily write them. We are used to many kinds of disguised authorship, usually of the sort which the Elizabethans and Horace likened to Aesop's crow strutting in peacock feathers. We have heard of the lesser writer claiming the works of greater men, like Bathyllus pretending to be Virgil, and Ireland pretending to be Shakspeare. We know of subordinates writing reports for generals and statesmen to sign. These activities we call ghost-writing. But we do not expect the like ghost-writing of verse, and certainly we do not expect the poet to pretend to be a soldier. This is not a case of the crow and the peacock, but of the peacock pretending to be an eagle. Perhaps there may be more cases of the sort than we are ready to admit—or to welcome when we find them.

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TWO SHAKSPERIAN PARALLELS

By WILLIAM ELTON

IN support of Professor W. T. Hastings' cogent remarks on the conventional ancestry of Shakspeare's Autolycus,¹ an apparently unnoted parallel may be cited from John Heywood's *The Four P.P.* (c. 1520-22).² In this play, the Pedlar, joining the 'Pothecary, the Palmer, and the Pardoner, "pushes" his wares with a flair reminiscent of Autolycus; his womanish goods are similar; his "pitch" is equally addressed to lovers; his cry, "come, buy me," is identical; he is likewise a singing man; and, indeed, he furnishes the occasion for a lengthy anticipation of Autolycus' coarse pin joke (*W. T.*, IV, iv, 223-4). His "spiel" may be compared to Autolycus' (*W. T.*, IV, iv, 215-27, 309-317):

Gloves, pins, combs, glasses unspotted,
Pomades, books, and laces unknotted;
Broaches, rings, and all manner of beads;
Laces, round and flat, for women's heads;
Needles, thread, thimble, shears, and all such knacks,
Where lovers be, no such thing lacks:
Sipers, swathbands, ribbons, and sleeve laces,
Girdles, knives, purses, pincases.³

II

A dramatic anticipation of Menenius' fable of the belly and the members (*Coriolanus*, I, i, 95-159), which seems to have escaped specific mention, occurs in the medieval *moralité joyeuse* of *Le Ventre, Les Jambes, Le Coeur, et Le Chef*. As in Shakspeare, the stomach asserts, in reply to the other members' complaints that it receives all the food, that it furnishes the sustenance for their existence:

C'est moy qui donne aux membres vye,
Et sans moy tout membre desuye,
Sans moy plaisir ne prend le coeur.
Chef, bras, iambes mes en vigueur,
Quant ie fuys remply & nourry;⁴

Brown University, Providence, R. I.

¹SAB, XV (1940), 253. Cf. J. R. Moore, "Ancestors of Autolycus in the English Moralities and Interludes," *Washington University Studies*, Humanistic ser., IX (1922), 157-64. The Furness Variorum *Winter's Tale* (p. 214) cites Heywood in passing, but in another connection.

²Ed. J. S. Farmer, *The Dramatic Writings of John Heywood* (London, 1905), pp. 35-8.

³*Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴Ed. Leroux de Lincy and Francisque Michel, *Recueil de Farces, Moralités, et Sermons Joyeux*. 4 vols. (Paris, 1837), II (no. 9), 5.

LEAR'S MADNESS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By IRVING RIBNER

THE Shakspeare character critics of the eighteenth century, venturing uncertainly into an aspect of literary art which was in its earliest infancy, had begun to speculate about the nature of Lear's madness, its causes, manifestations and effects upon the dramatic machinery of the tragedy. These early critics developed basic attitudes of interpretation which are of great importance in the history of Shakspeare criticism. They were the starting points from which the critics of the nineteenth century, writing with the help of growing bodies of psychiatric science as well as literary theory, created a body of literary-scientific interpretation of Lear which this study proposes to examine.

Such examination may have a two-fold value. In the first place, the body of criticism is of intrinsic value as a peculiar manifestation in the history of Shaksperian interpretation. Although many of the scientific theories and critical attitudes upon which it was based have been discarded by our own century, its value is not nullified. For literary criticism is a subjective art whose life is no more dependent upon the validity of the beliefs of the era which produced it than is that of any other art form. No amount of modern scholarly lore can destroy the worth of the studies of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. As representatives of an independent art form, they are as eternal as Shakspeare's plays themselves.

In the second place, through the focal point of Lear's madness we can get an insight into the general thought patterns of the nineteenth century, their relationship to those of the eighteenth, and in what ways they have been accepted, discarded and modified by our own age. One of the basic ends of all literary study is insight into the inter-relationship of the thought patterns of the various ages, and there is no better way by which we may arrive at such insight than by seeing them all in independent reaction to a common problem.

The eighteenth century had produced two significant interpretations of Lear's madness. The first of these was that of Joseph Warton who, in what Herbert S. Robinson calls "the first connected series of papers in an eighteenth century periodical to deal with the criticism of Shakespeare,"¹ treated the subject in Essays 113, 116 and 122 of *The Adventures*, the last three essays of a series which ran from Sept. 25, 1753 to Jan. 5, 1754.² Lear's madness, said Warton, is a real mental aberration which occurs during the scene on the heath and as a result of the cruelty he has suffered at the hands of his daughters.³ He then pointed to one of its cardinal symptoms:

Madness being occasioned by a close and continued attention of the mind to a single object, Shakespeare judiciously represents the resignation of his crown to daughters so cruel and unnatural as the particular idea which has brought on the distraction of Lear, and which perpetually recurs to his imagination, and mixes itself with all his ramblings.⁴

This is the earliest known instance of the delineation of Lear's monomaniacal fixation upon the cruelty of his daughters as a symptom of his madness, and it was an observation which was to be echoed and re-echoed by later critics. Henry Mackenzie in Essay 100 of *The Mirror*, published on Saturday, April 22, 1780, in attempting to draw the distinction between real and pretended madness as illustrated by Lear on the one hand and by Edgar on the other, repeated it.⁵ And again in the eighteenth century it was reiterated by Horace Walpole in the postscript to his *Mysterious Mother*.⁶

The other great contribution of the eighteenth century to the study of Lear's madness was that of Charlotte Lennox, daughter of Colonel James Ramsay, Lieut. Governor of New York.⁷ Mrs. Lennox maintained that Lear was a madman from the very first scene of the play to the last. The story for her was not of a man who loses his mind through his misfortunes, but rather of the antics of an irresponsible madman.⁸ The play thus became a composition lacking in tragic *nexus* and therefore one of little merit.

In addition to these two principal ideas, we should give some further emphasis to Henry Mackenzie's distinction

between Lear's real and Edgar's pretended madness.⁹ That also was a distinction which the following century was to echo, modify and develop. In fact, the very first critic of the nineteenth century, Charles Dibdin, repeated it almost verbatim.¹⁰ Bud Dibdin is essentially insignificant. It is with Coleridge that nineteenth-century analysis of Lear actually begins.

Coleridge dismissed the notion of Lear's madness from the play's beginning. Lear is not mad and there is nothing in his actions which is difficult to believe. He is merely an old man enjoying a childish game, and when his game misfires, he flies into a rage.¹¹ Madness is the natural result of extreme suffering; in Lear's case its first symptoms appear in Act III, scene iv. and in the last scene of the play his reason returns.¹² His madness is only one of the temporary manifestations of his suffering.

Coleridge set the pattern for the interpretation of Lear in the first half of the nineteenth century. Charles Lamb did not differ from him in his analysis of the nature and development of the madness, but he added to it an interesting observation upon its dramatic function. Lamb's dominant impression of *King Lear* was that of a play of unutterable tragic grandeur—a grandeur so overwhelming that the play could never be adequately staged. This grandeur, he said, was brought to the surface by Shakspeare's skillful use of the dramatic potentialities of madness.¹³ Lamb was followed closely by Hazlitt who also pointed out Shakspeare's ability to use madness for dramatic purposes and who also emphasized the distinction between real and pretended madness:

Lear's real and Edgar's assumed madness, while the resemblance in the cause of their distresses, from the severing of the nearest ties of natural affection, keeps up a unity of interest. Shakespear's mastery over his subject, if it is not art, was owing to a knowledge of the connecting links of the passions and their effect upon the mind.¹⁴

In 1841, Henry Hallam reaffirmed the romantic notion of the intellectual grandeur that is inherent in madness while he pointed out the eloquence that may belong to suffering:

Then comes on that splendid madness, not absurdly sudden, as in some tragedies, but in which the strings that keep his reasoning power together give way, one after the other, in the frenzy of rage and grief. Then it is that we find what in life may sometimes be seen, the intellectual energies grow stronger in calamity and especially under wrong. An awful eloquence belongs to unmerited suffering. Thoughts burst out, more profound than Lear in his prosperous hour could ever have conceived; inconsequent—for such is the condition of madness—but in themselves fragments of coherent truth, the reason of an unreasonable mind.¹⁵

The comments of Coleridge, Lamb, Hazlitt and Hallam may be considered as parts of the same movement: that of the consideration of Lear's madness by leaders of the Romantic movement according to the canons of Romantic literary theory. The second quarter of the nineteenth century produced another class of commentators which is almost unique in the history of literary criticism. A group of professional psychiatrists studied Lear's mental disease and attempted to analyze it in the light of the psychiatric knowledge of the day. The first of these scientific interpretations appeared in 1844.

In July of that year, Dr. A. Brigham, in an essay called "Shakespeare's Illustrations of Insanity," which appeared in *The American Journal of Insanity*, declared that Lear was "a genuine case of insanity from the beginning to the end."¹⁶ Dr. Brigham went much farther than Charlotte Lennox who a century earlier had stated this case for the first time. To Brigham, Lear's initial madness was so evident at the very beginning of the play, that Goneril and Regan, because of their suffering at his irrational conduct, become almost objects of commiseration. They showed no disposition to mistreat their father, Brigham says, until his conduct became unbearable.¹⁷

The critical implications of Brigham's diagnosis are evident. If *King Lear* is nothing other than the account of a madman who by his irrational action disturbs the peace of society and causes suffering and finally death for himself, of what value is the play as tragedy? In essence, Brigham's criticism, like that of Charlotte Lennox, from which it stemmed, was a denial of *Lear* as great drama. And that was a characteristic of most of the "scientific" criticism of the nineteenth century.

Brigham's argument was taken up again three years later in the April, 1847, edition of *The American Journal of Insanity*. Dr. Isaac Ray, in that article, characterized Lear as an old man who, although not actually mad, was susceptible to insanity from the beginning of the play, and whose actual madness was brought on by the cruel treatment to which he was subjected.¹⁸ Ray, thus, does not go quite so far as Brigham.

Dr. Ray was greatly impressed by the skill with which Shakspeare presented his portrait of madness in its actual scientific aspects, and particularly with his distinction between the earlier and the later stages of Lear's aberration:

The development of the early stage of Lear's insanity, or its "incubation," as it is technically called, is managed with masterly skill, the more surprising as it is the stage of the disease which attracts the least attention. And the reason is, that the derangement is evinced, not so much by delusions or gross improprieties of conduct, as by a mere exaggeration of natural peculiarities, by inconsistencies of behavior, by certain acts for which very plausible reasons are assigned, though they would never have been performed in a perfectly sound state of mind, by gusts of passion at every trifling provocation, or by doing very proper things at unreasonable times and occasions.¹⁹

Psychiatric science had not developed to any extent at the time that Brigham and Ray were writing, but that in the early stages of the science's development psychiatrists should seize upon Lear as a subject for analysis is among the greatest of tributes to Shakspeare's genius.

Henry Norman Hudson in 1848 returned also to the supposition of Charlotte Lennox, but in his hands the idea assumed an entirely different shape. At the beginning of the play, wrote Hudson, Lear is already suffering from senile dementia. "With his body tottering beneath the weight of years and cares of state, his mind is sliding into second childhood which is content to play with the shadows of things which have been."²⁰

One of the attributes of this senile dementia is an unnatural and almost morbid hungering after the outward tokens of affection, and therein (for Hudson) lay the basis of the tragedy.²¹ Passion in senile dementia, he continued,

had the power to rejuvenate the body and to restore the energy of youth, and that also was illustrated by the play.²²

Richard Grant White took issue with Brigham and Ray and with his contemporary and countryman, Hudson. He argued that although Lear's action in the first scene is irrational, it is an absurdity demanded by Shakspeare's plot,²³ and that Lear shows no signs of insanity before his appearance on the heath. In this connection, White made one of the most significant of contributions to the analysis of the madness:

He was not insane; he had not even begun to be insane before that time; and after that time we may almost say that he seeks madness. In the fury of his wrath as an offended king, and of his morbid grief as an outraged father, his intellect commits a sort of suicide.²⁴

Lear goes mad partly because he is seeking madness. White further drew a fine distinction between those scenes in which Lear is losing his mind and those in which he has already lost it. "Men who are insane," he declared, "believe that they alone are reasonable; and when Lear at last is crazed he makes no allusion to the condition of his intellect."²⁵ In those scenes where Lear speaks of losing his reason, he still retains it.

The argument against those who maintained that Lear was mad from the play's beginning was carried farther by William Watkiss Lloyd who, in 1856, wrote that it was the sight of Mad Tom upon the heath which precipitated Lear's madness.²⁶ This was a notion based upon the popular medical concept of the times which held that the sight of one madman could produce madness in another.

The third professional psychiatrist of the nineteenth century to undertake the analysis of Lear's madness was John Charles Bucknill, whose series of articles and books on Shakspeare's mad characters began to appear in 1859. Bucknill's argument, like those of Brigham and Ray, was that Lear is mad from the beginning of the play and

that the partition of the kingdom, involving inevitable feuds and wars, is the first act of his developing insanity; and that the manner of its partition, the mock trial of his daughters' affections, and its tragical denouement, is the second. . . .²⁷

Bucknill took issue with both Coleridge and Hallam who had presented the traditional Romantic viewpoints. To Coleridge, who had declared that Lear was not mad at the beginning of the play and that we must accept his irrational action in the first scene as an improbability forced upon Shakspeare by his plot, Bucknill replied that, although improbabilities are common in Shakspeare, "there is one kind of improbability which is not to be found in Shakspeare — the systematic development of goodness from badness, of strength from weakness."²⁸

Hallam's idea that great vigor and eloquence could be products of madness, he said, was contrary to all "the practical knowledge of mental pathology."²⁹ And he went on to explain that, "intellectual energy may indeed, sometimes be seen to grow stronger under the greatest trials of life, but never when the result of these trials is mental disease."³⁰

The reason for earlier misinterpretations of Lear's madness, said Bucknill, was that critics had overlooked the early symptoms of the disorder and had "postponed its recognition until he is running about a frantic, raving madman."³¹ Madness, he went on to say, has always been an attribute of despotic kings, as history shows, and thus, in the very fact of Lear's despotic power, we have an initial supposition of madness.³² Lear's mind, moreover, has been affected by old age as well as despotism:

In old age, the greedy man becomes the miser; in old age the immoral man becomes the shameless reprobate; in old age the unchecked passions of manhood tend to develop themselves into the exaggerated proportions of insanity.³³

Bucknill added the fact of Lear's great physical strength as another symptom of his initial madness: "The state of hale bodily strength in senile mania is true to nature."³⁴ But as his greatest single evidence he cited Lear's action in dividing the kingdom. He made much of Coleridge's "silly trick" and declared that in the implications of that trick, which Coleridge had not seen, lay the evidence of Lear's early senile dementia.³⁵

Among the indications of mental aberration prior to the heath scene, he pointed to Lear's treatment of Kent and

the language in which he berated him.³⁶ The entire episode, he maintained, showed "exaggerated passion, perverted affection, weakened judgement; all the elements, in fact, of madness except incoherence and delusion. These are added later."³⁷ Lear's conduct is that of a madman, and as such Bucknill justifies Goneril's objection to it. He further suggested Lear's treatment of her as another indication of his insanity.³⁸ "Enough of Lear's violence," he wrote, "both in language and conduct is manifested to confirm the truth of Goneril's harsh accusations."³⁹

It was Goneril's action, Bucknill continued, which precipitated Lear from the earlier stage of his madness into the full madness of the scene upon the heath, which includes delusion and incoherence.⁴⁰ As a symptom of that incoherence, Bucknill cited:

This flightiness of thought, this readiness to take up a subject strongly, and to lay it down lightly, to run from one subject to another, and still more, from one temper to another. . .⁴¹

The climax of Lear's disease, of course, manifests itself in the heath scene.⁴² The transition from the earlier incomplete to the later complete stages of madness, said Bucknill, was made by Shakspeare with scientific accuracy and with "a knowledge of principles, half of which would make the reputation of a modern psychologist."⁴³

Bucknill followed the action of the play and illustrated the progress of Lear's madness from the first scene to its final consummation in death, justifying his observations by reference to what psychiatrists of the nineteenth century considered to be sound principles. For Hallam's explanation of the eloquence of Lear's madness, he substituted the idea that

the eloquence of madness is partly the result of an imagination always vivid and now stimulated to excess, and of an involuntary display of oratorical power native to man, and partly of profound knowledge of human nature acquired during an age of practical kingship.⁴⁴

Like his predecessors in the criticism of *King Lear*, Bucknill called attention to Shakspeare's fine contrast of the

real madness of Lear with the assumed madness of Edgar.⁴⁵

In 1866 appeared A. O. Kellogg's book, *Shakspeare's Delineations of Insanity, Imbecility and Suicide*, a collection of essays which had been published separately between the years 1859 and 1864. Kellogg was also a professional psychiatrist, and the title page of his volume bears witness to his affiliation with the New York state mental hospital. His analysis of Lear closely followed the lines of his three predecessors and added little that was original.

His main point was that Lear possessed a predisposition to madness which was brought on by "exciting causes."⁴⁶ He followed the action of the play and showed how Lear was brought from the early predisposition to the stage of outright and complete madness. He pointed to Lear's monomaniacal fixation upon the ingratitude of his daughters as a symptom of complete madness, just as Joseph Warton had pointed to it a hundred years earlier.⁴⁷

To the traditional illustration of Shakspeare's differentiation between real and assumed madness, Kellogg added a new element which had not been emphasized before. Three types of madness, he said, were contrasted on the heath scene:

the most ingeniously constructed scene in the whole play . . . in which the poet brings together Lear, now an undoubted madman, Edgar, who assumes madness for purposes of disguise and deception, and the fool.⁴⁸

The fool was thus added to the spectacle of madness, and in 1875 the observation was repeated by Francis Jacox in his *Shakespeare Diversions*. Jacox wrote that, "In *Lear* each form of madness is exhausted — the congenital, the superinduced, the fictitious, as represented . . . in the Fool, in the King and in Edgar."⁴⁹

The commentaries upon Lear's madness in the nineteenth century seem thus to have fallen roughly into two camps. On the one hand were the professional psychiatrists who carried on the tradition begun by Charlotte Lennox, and on the other were the purely literary men who seemed to follow that of Joseph Warton. One of the most significant

of this second group was Denton J. Snider whose Shaksperian studies began to appear in 1877. Snider took direct issue with the professional psychiatrists of his day:

Yet we must not consider Lear insane at the start; an act of folly does not constitute insanity, else the world were one great mad-house.⁵⁰

Lear's madness, he said, occurs during the scene on the heath and it is brought on by two factors: the storm and the appearance of Tom of Bedlam.⁵¹ Snider was there echoing Lloyd who, more than twenty years earlier, had attributed Lear's breakdown partly to the appearance of the disguised Edgar. That a savage storm could produce madness was a belief that went back to the Elizabethan age itself. Snider further asserted that Lear's madness was of a purgative nature. It was a temporary delusion which had the power to transform his spirit.⁵²

Snider's analysis was followed by that of Richard G. Moulton which did not differ from it greatly although it added to it some new viewpoints. Moulton said that Lear's madness was a gradual development caused by one shock after another, and that the full development of the madness occurred in the scene on the heath. The plot and Lear's madness have been developing simultaneously and both come to a climax together at that point.⁵³

Moulton echoed both Snider and Lloyd in calling attention to Lear's meeting with Mad Tom as the event which finally precipitated him into full insanity.⁵⁴ He echoed A. O. Kellogg in his addition of the Fool to the traditionally cited madness contrast:

When examined more closely this centrepiece exhibits not a duet but a trio of madness; with the other two there mingles a third form of what may be called madness, the professional madness of the court fool.⁵⁵

From the fact that Moulton seems to claim originality for this observation, we may assume that he was not familiar with the work of Kellogg or Jacox. Moulton wrote much on Shakspeare's use of madness as a dramatic device, and in the case of *King Lear* he said that it was used as "a variation and a relief to tragedy."⁵⁶

In 1895, Barrett Wendell introduced an idea into *Lear* criticism which was not unrelated to that observation. Starting with the assumption that the modern audience cannot adequately understand *King Lear*, he concluded that it was the dramatic function of madness on the Elizabethan stage which governed much of Shakspeare's creation, and that we were no longer familiar with that function. Madness upon the Elizabethan stage, he declared, was a source of comedy. Lear and Edgar in their madness, both real and feigned, were designed as comic characters who would cater to the peculiar taste of the Elizabethan audience.⁵⁷ As evidence of this taste, Wendell cited the use of Madness in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Changeling*. "Only when we understand," he asserted, "that King Lear, for all his marvellous pathos, was meant, in scene after scene, to impress an audience as comic, can we begin to understand the theatrical intention of Shakespeare's tragedy."⁵⁸

Perhaps the last great work of Shaksperian criticism which the nineteenth century produced was Frederick S. Boas's *Shakspeare and his Predecessors*, which first appeared in 1896. In many respects, Boas's book represents a culmination and epitome of the principal ideas developed by the earlier critics of his century, and it is therefore fitting that we should bring our summary to a close with his comments.

Boas agreed with those who maintained that Lear was not mad until the scene upon the heath, and he echoed those earlier critics like Lloyd and Snider who had said that it was the appearance of Mad Tom which produced the final and complete madness:

His wits begin to turn, and soon he is driven completely mad by an incident which links together the major and minor plots. Kent leads him for shelter to a hovel, whence rushes out Edgar in the disguise of a Tom of Bedlam . . . The contact with this apparent lunatic, through the operation of a familiar law, produces total insanity in Lear, and the limits of tragic horror are reached in the wild trio of madness that follows—the ravings of Lear, the feigned frenzy of Edgar, and the babbling of the Fool.⁵⁹

We may accept that as the dominant note upon which nineteenth-century analysis of the problem ended. We may look at it and realize that it is a synthesis of many conflicting

ideas, for intelligent criticism of a work of art which has been a part of the intimate life of a people for almost three hundred years must include the sifting through, amplification and modification of earlier ideas. And that is what, essentially, the criticism of our own age has been. We may look at the work of E. E. Stoll, G. Wilson Knight, Granville-Barker, M. R. Ridley—of every significant critic that has written of Lear's madness in our day—and we may see in what respects they go back to Coleridge, Snider, Moulton and Wendell, and how ultimately they all go back to the eighteenth-century writings of Joseph Warton and Charlotte Lennox.

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¹H. S. Robinson, *English Shakespearean Criticism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1932), p. 91.

²Essays 93 and 97, the first two of the series, dealt with *The Tempest*.

³Joseph Warton, *The Adventurer* (New Ed., London, 1797), IV, 60.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁵Henry Mackenzie, *The Mirror* (London, 1794), p. 223.

⁶Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto and The Mysterious Mother*, ed. Montague Summers (London, 1924), pp. 257-258.

⁷Mrs. Lennox was probably the first American Shaksperian critic. Her book was written in New York and published in London with a preface by Samuel Johnson.

⁸Charlotte Lennox, *Shakespeare Illustrated etc.* (London, 1754), III, 287.

⁹Mackenzie, *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰Charles Dibdin, *A Complete History of the English Stage* (London, 1800), III, 323.

¹¹Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Notes and Lectures upon Shakespeare* (London, 1849), I, 189.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³Charles Lamb, *Critical Essays*, ed. William Macdonald (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1903), p. 32.

¹⁴William Hazlitt, *The Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* (London, 1878), p. 112.

¹⁵Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841), II, 200.

¹⁶H. H. Furness (ed.) *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare* (4th ed., Philadelphia, 1899), IV, 412.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 413.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 413-414.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 414.

²⁰Henry Norman Hudson, *Lectures on Shakespeare* (New York, 1848), II, 240.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 243.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

²³Richard Grant White, *Studies in Shakespeare* (Boston, 1899), p. 218.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 224.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 225.

²⁶William Watkiss Lloyd *Critical Essays on the Plays of Shakespeare* (London, 1894), p. 448.

²⁷John Charles Bucknill, *The Mad Folk of Shakespeare* (2nd ed., London, 1867), pp. 174-175.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 163.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 165.

- ³⁰*Ibid.*
³¹*Ibid.*, p. 169.
³²*Ibid.*, p. 171.
³³*Ibid.*, pp. 172-173.
³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 174.
³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 174-175.
³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 176.
³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 177.
³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 178.
³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 172-173.
⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 182.
⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp. 188-189.
⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 193.
⁴³*Ibid.*, pp. 196-197.
⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 218.
⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 208.
⁴⁶A. O. Kellogg, *Shakespeare's Delineations of Insanity, Imbecility and Suicide* (New York, 1866), p. 14.
⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 23.
⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 24.
⁴⁹Francis Jacox, *Shakespeare Diversions* (New York, 1875), p. 215.
⁵⁰Denton J. Snider, *The Shakespearean Drama* (St. Louis, 1887), p. 156.
⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 175.
⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 178.
⁵³Richard G. Moulton, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist* (Oxford, 1893), pp. 209-210.
⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 217.
⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 218.
⁵⁶Richard G. Moulton, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Thinker* (New York, 1924), p. 190.
⁵⁷Barrett Wendell, *William Shakspeare* (New York, 1893), pp. 294-195.
⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 295.
⁵⁹Frederick S. Boas, *Shakspeare and his Predecessors* (New York, 1906), p. 449.
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CONTRAST OF TEMPO IN THE BALCONY SCENE

By JOHN W. DRAPER

NOT only the meaning but the textual detail of Shakspeare's dialogue reflects the tempo at which he expected a given passage to be delivered: vowel and consonant combinations lead the voice to *lento* or *andante* or *allegro* or *presto*; ellipses and over-long lines suggest haste; the use of the emphatic *do* suggests deliberate speech; and, most important of all, the presence or the absence—evident in the meter—of slurrings between words as in *don't* or *for't* and within certain words, such as *ever* and *heaven* show the tempo of the verse.¹ Such evidence may show the speech-characteristics of a rôle, slow or fast, smooth or jerky; and this in turn seems to show how Shakspeare at times adjusted his lines to the speech-peculiarities of the actor for whom he wrote the part:² in this way, one may even guess some characteristics of Shakspeare's own speech, from the parts he played.³ In an important rôle, moreover, changes in tempo should synchronize with the situation, the emotion and even a fundamental evolution in a given character; and such would seem to be the case in the tempo of Desdemona.² The present study, however, is concerned with the more superficial relation of tempo to literary and dramatic style.

Contrast is one of the most striking of devices; and, indeed, without it, poetry and prose would both sink to drab monotony. In *Romeo and Juliet*, a play of wit and lyricism, style is the dominant dramatic element; the two protagonists might well show some contrast in their style of speech; and this contrast might well appear in the tempo of their respective rôles. In Acts I and II, both characters speak somewhat slower than the rapid norm of the Elizabethan stage, in which the evidence for rapidity preponderates by about three to one. In Act I, the rôle of Romeo, strangely enough, shows slightly more evidence for slow than for fast speech; and, in Act II (omitting the Balcony Scene), it is slightly shaded in the opposite direction. Juliet in Act I—though the evidence of her part is hardly enough to furnish proof—seems to be even slower than Romeo; and, in Act II

(again omitting the Balcony Scene), she is, like Romeo, slightly more rapid. In short, the tempo of the two lovers in most of the first two acts displays no striking contrast, and is notable only for being rather slower than the average speech of the Shaksperian stage.

The Balcony Scene is an utter contrast in tempo to the scenes before and around it, and shows a striking contrast of speed between the two lovers: Romeo's lines supply almost four evidences for slow speech to one for fast, a complete reversal of the norm; and Juliet's, on the other hand, are nearer the usual ratio, and are more fast than slow by about two to three. In Shakspeare's text, Romeo has about eighty lines, and Juliet almost one hundred and ten, that is an approximate ratio of three to four; but Romeo may actually have had more speaking-time. Elizabethan actors, as Hamlet suggests, spoke "trippingly"; but, in this play, which according to its prologue took only two hours on the stage, the two chief characters in their most famous scene pronounce their lines much slower than the norm, and in the case of Romeo with an extreme deliberation that reminds one of the dazed and halting speech of Desdemona in the last act of *Othello*. When the lovers meet again in Act III, the speech of both of them is somewhat slower than the norm; but, as in Act I, the contrast is but slight: in Romeo, the evidence somewhat favors rapidity; in Juliet, the opposite—just contrary to the very striking contrast on the Balcony Scene. Apparently, therefore, the extreme contrast of tempo in the Balcony Scene arose neither from the characters of Romeo or of Juliet, nor from the situation, nor from the speech habits of the original actors: for all these theories require that it would appear elsewhere in the play; and it does not. In Act III, as a whole, the evidence for Romeo somewhat favors, the fast; in the third scene, Juliet is fast by a count of more than two to one; and, in the fifth scene, she is slow by a count of about three to four. In Act IV, Romeo doesn't appear; and Juliet's lines are slow by two to three. In Act V, Juliet's few lines show an even balance of evidence; and Romeo's show almost twice as much evidence for rapid tempo. In short, Romeo's part, outside the Balcony Scene does not stray far from a ratio of one to one. This is slow for the Shaksperian stage; but, in the Balcony Scene, it is retarded even more to the asto-

nishing ratio of four slow to one fast, a ratio that appears nowhere else in his part. Juliet's rôle for the entire play averages about the same as Romeo's, but with greater variation in single scenes; and her proportion in the Balcony Scene of two slow to three fast re-appears in Act IV, and is nearer the Elizabethan norm than Romeo's. Shakspeare seems to have intended the Balcony Scene to move slowly with an *andante* lyricism; and he further accentuated it with great contrast in the speeds of the two speakers. The lover, for all his fiery protestations, speaks almost *largo* and generally *legato*, as a contrast to his lady's greater variety and speed.

Some actors say that Romeo's part is one of the most ungrateful major rôles in Shakspeare, because he is a mere foil to Juliet; and his more monotonous, heavier tempo would seem to agree with this: he acts as a sort of bass accompaniment while Juliet carries the air: at all events, the length and importance of his speeches dwindle as the scene progresses, and he has few of the purple passages. In short, Shakspeare, in dramatically building up the scene, seems to have been sacrificing Romeo for a brilliant lyric climax in the part of Juliet, and the contrast in their tempos also doubtless contributed to this effect. No other reason for it is apparent; and one finds it in no other scene. It does not seem to inhere either in the characters of the speakers or in the momentary situation: if lovers should prolong their accents, why does not Juliet do so? Indeed, this contrast seems to be purely a trick of style, without deep dramatic meaning, devised purely for theatrical effect, like the artificial lighting of a Rembrandt. Shakspeare's failure in *Romeo and Juliet* to integrate tempo with plot or character (as he later did in the part of Desdemona) is not surprising; for he had not yet mastered the complexities of tragic structure, as the very plot of this play attests with its numerous examples of coincidence. In short, Shakspeare uses contrast in tempo to heighten the effect of a lyric scene, even though there is no clear reason for such a contrast: the device, though somewhat specious, was doubtless most effective.

One might ask further how far modern actors instinctively adjust their rendition of the lines to the tempos that Shakspeare apparently expected, how far their "feel" of in-

terpretation leads them to conform to the expression-marks inherent in his texts. Of course, the modern stage with its proscenium arch will not allow—especially not in a large, echoing theatre—the speed of the Elizabethan actor's speech; but, in the Balcony Scene, the contrast is so great that modern Shaksperian actors, though scaling down the average tempo, might retain the difference between the slow-speaking Romeo and the faster Juliet. Sothern and Marlowe were for many years a standard of Shaksperian production; and a comparison of the tempos indicated in the original text with a Victor recording of the Balcony Scene as they presented it, should indicate how nearly at least two modern actors reflect the contrast that the dramatist seems to have intended.

As recorded for the victrola, this scene is rather heavily cut, especially the earlier speeches of Romeo. In fact, the 190 lines of the original are reduced to about 120; and, of these lines, Romeo has about thirty-four; the Nurse, a few interjections; and Juliet the lion's share. Thus the preponderance of Juliet over her lover is greatly augmented. The evidences of speed apparent in this abbreviated version even accentuate the contrast apparent in the uncut text. Romeo's part supplies three evidences for fast as against eighteen for slow tempo, a proportion of six to one in favor of retardation; and Juliet's ratio shows forty evidences of speed to fifteen for slow tempo, a ratio of one to almost three in favor of speed. In short, these calculations show an even more deliberate Romeo than in the uncut text, contrasting with an impetuous Juliet, whose faster lines show therefore a greater variation than her lover's slow and more even pace.

How do Sothern and Marlowe deliver these 120 lines? Some speeches are too short to give clear evidences of tempo; and the tempo sometimes changes within a line; but a rough estimate, gleaned from repeated playing of the record, may well serve: as Mr. Sothern interprets Romeo's rôle, twenty-nine lines are clearly slower than the average, and five lines faster, exactly the same ratio of six to one that the cut text affords; and, as Miss Marlowe interprets Juliet, forty-four lines are fast, and thirty-five lines are slow—a ratio of about four to three plus, somewhat slower:

than the evidence that Shakspeare's text suggests, a change perhaps dictated by the size and construction of modern theatres. In short, the actors have maintained the contrast that Shakspeare seems to have intended, although they doubtless keyed the whole passage down to a slower tempo to make it audible beyond the proscenium arch. The following diagram is set forth in approximate ratios:

	Romeo		Juliet	
	Fast	Slow	Fast	Slow
Evidences for tempo in Shakspeare's uncut text (190 lines) . .	1	4	3	2
Evidences for tempo in text cut for Sothorn and Marlowe (120 lines)	1	6	3—	1
Tempo of lines as given by actors	1	6	4	3+

The instinct of the actors, therefore, would seem to have guided them aright in their timing of this scene; but, unfortunately, the matter is not quite as simple as mere ratios would imply; for Sothorn and Marlowe do not always pronounce passages as Shakspeare's indications seem to require. Mr. Sothorn's part, being almost entirely slow both in Shakspeare's text and in his own rendition, only rarely errs; but even he gives *andante* time to the line, "The exchange of thy love's faithful vow for mine," in which the meter clearly requires the slurring of the first two words into one, and this implies rapid delivery. Miss Marlowe's part, having much more variation, has many more opportunities for mistakes in tempo. For example, she pronounces very slowly:

O Romeo, Romeo! wherefore art thou Romeo?
 Deny thy father and refuse thy name;
 Or, if thou wilt not, be but sworn my love,
 And I'll no longer be a Capulet.

Yet "Romeo" is slurred into two syllables three times in the first line (Cf. line 51 where the meter shows it slowed to three syllables); and the contraction "I'll" in the last line also implies speed. Miss Marlowe doubtless felt—and properly—that the speech required emphasis; but retarded tempo was apparently not the type of emphasis that Shakspeare intended: perhaps change in voice-inflection or in

volume would be more effective. Later, Miss Marlowe renders rapidly, "And I | will take thee at thy word," and also "I | am too quickly won," though the lack of slurring in both cases suggests a slower delivery. Miss Marlowe on the whole rightly realizes the *rubato* delivery appropriate to her rôle in this scene; but, again and again, she renders slow passages fast and *vice versa*. Shakspeare's contrast between the two speakers is apparent; but the interpretation of the tempo is often in opposition to the expression-marks that his text supplies.

These studies of Shakspeare's tempo seem to have various scholarly uses in throwing light on the dramatist's characterization and his style, and on the Elizabethan presentation of the plays; but perhaps their most significant value might be as a guide to actors' interpretation of the lines; for timing is all-important on the stage. The human voice allows three chief means of emphasis: change in volume, change in tempo, including pauses, and change in intonation. If an actor feels sure that a passage requires emphasis, such a study as this can often show him whether Shakspeare intended emphasis by change in tempo or by some other means; and it can certainly indicate the sort of speed required for his part as a whole and often for individual speeches. Perhaps acting editions should be prepared in which tempo is marked on the margins; and then, if the actor insists on flying in the face of the evidence, he at least knows that he is doing so. Musicians rarely take great liberties with the expression-marks of Beethoven; and one might ask how far an oral interpreter has the right to vary those of Shakspeare.

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¹See the present writer, "Speech-Tempo in Act I of *Othello*," *West Va. Phil. Bull.*, 1946.

²See the present writer, "The Tempo of Shylock's Speech," *JEGP.*, XLIV, 281 *et seq.*

³See the present writer, "The Tempo of Shakespeare's Speech."

⁴See the present writer, "Changes in the Tempo of Desdemona's Speech," *Anglica*.

DRAMATIST AT THE CROSSROADS*

(A Suggestion concerning *Measure for Measure*)

By E. J. WEST

IN 1874, *Measure for Measure* brought before Walter Pater "a group of persons, attractive, full of desire, vessels of the genial, seed-bearing powers of nature, a gaudy existence flowering out over the old court and city of Vienna, a spectacle of the fulness and pride of life which to some may seem to touch the verge of wantonness."¹ A half-century later, the same play seemed to Dover Wilson to be "written in much the same key as *Point Counter Point* and other of Mr. Aldous Huxley's novels," and he found in the play "The hatred of sentimentalism and romance, the savage determination to tear aside all veils, to expose reality in its crudity and hideousness, the self-laceration, weariness, discord, cynicism and disgust" which characterized the "literature of negation" of the early thirties.²

I am not here embarked upon a footnote to W. H. Durham's essay, "*Measure for Measure* a Measure for Critics,"³ although I am sufficiently sensible of the truism he there belabors, that critics, even the most minor, necessarily interpret all art in terms of their sentiments, their prejudices, and surely, one should add, their immediate circumstances—of health, of life, of happiness. But it does seem to me that both the late nineteenth-century romantic-sentimental point of view, of which Pater was by no means the least brilliant and effective exponent, and the modern pseudo-objective, psychologico-scientific point of view, of which Wilson is a typical romantic-sentimental exponent, tend to neglect equally not only the age in which the play was written, which Schücking and Stoll have urged as the proper vantage point, but also the man who wrote it, who

*This paper was finished before the writer saw Roy W. Battenhouse's article, "*Measure For Measure* and Christian Doctrine of the Atonement," *PMLA* LXI (Dec. 1946), 1029-1059. I have not been able to study the article as yet in detail, but I find myself incapable of accepting the thesis that Shakspeare was as familiar with or as interested in Christian doctrine *per se* as Mr. Battenhouse seems to suggest.

should most certainly be considered somewhere in the process of analysis and appreciation.

I realize also how superfluous must seem any general impressionistic note on this play beside the wise and witty eloquence with which in the annual Shakspeare lecture of the British Academy in 1937, R. W. Chambers, by considering both the man and his age, "tried to fight a good fight"* on behalf at once of the Christian and the comedic virtues of *Measure for Measure* against all those critics who had attacked the play, its arbitrary plot, or its disturbing characters; I remember how beautifully he battled (like his beloved Beowulf against the monsters of a magic long ago) with Wilson and "all those spells which the Wizard professor of the North, the Prince of the Power of the Air, can weave from his chair amid the mists of high Dunedin." I recall his plea that we study Shakspeare's plays "as the works of art which we know them to be; rather than weave baseless conjectures concerning details of a biography which we can never know." But I feel strongly that Professor Chambers, even on the printed page, is far more persuasive than the play or its perplexing characters, and that he himself sinned, if pardonably and pleasantly, against his own dictum that "No one formula can summarize Shakespeare's life for us," and that he found in the play the measure of a Shakspeare he had himself preconceived according to a private and personal, if most impressive and enviable, formula.

I am not suggesting that it is easy or even possible to achieve a completely objective point of view, rather that it is desirable to admit the necessarily magnetic spell of the subjective reaction and so at least aim at the objective analysis. An active theatre practitioner like myself seeks living tissue and not fossilized remains in any dramatic script he approaches, and he tries, with all due caution and self-suspicion, in studying a Shaksperian script, to think how the playwright might have felt about writing the play at a particular time, for a particular company, for a particular audience, himself ever mindful of himself and therefore desirous of as little self-compromise as possible in satisfying both the company and the audience.

As my title suggests, my premise, unlike that of Chambers or the earlier critics he tilted with (and, I think, conquered), or that of later scholars astride specially designed

hobby-horses, like the one called "comical satire" so well ridden by Oscar James Campbell,⁶ is that the dramatist was in a dilemma at the time he wrote the play—not in a mood, not on the heights of Chambers' Christian charity, not in the depths of pagan despair preferred by other critics—just in a dilemma, stranded at a crossroads, not knowing quite his destination or the thoroughfare which led thereto. Fully aware of what a trouncing I should receive from Professor Chambers in the unlikely event that he should ever view these remarks, I still proclaim my belief that Shakspeare's "high comedies" show him in part at least attempting to overlook, rather than to look at, his age, that is, to look beyond the immediate present toward a pleasant land of Arden or of Illyria. I also believe that, having fully developed his wilful and wistful idealism in *Twelfth Night*, and probably having perceived finally the futility of escapism, he decided at last in his "dark comedies" (and may one suggest that they *do* leave a dark brown taste upon most sensitive palates?) that he must consider his age.

And by "consider his age" I do not mean "consider its tastes" (for surely his own audience accepted easily what has so disturbed the audiences and critics of subsequent periods: the moral perplexity and self-contradictoriness characteristic of the play) but I mean "look at the age," record its surface ebb and flow, not moralize upon the undertow or groundswell underneath. In *Troilus and Cressida*, it is generally agreed, Shakspeare was commenting obliquely on contemporary manners and problems. Even more, I submit, in *Measure for Measure* he was writing for an age and of an age not too unlike the Vienna, corrupt and debased, in which the only devotees of virtue were self-righteous Puritans like Isabella (I am remembering vividly Professor Chambers' defence of Isabella, but regretfully I note in the rhythm of his prose-commentary a warmth and sincerity lacking in the verse of her speeches), over-zealous and hypocritical Puritans like Angelo, or philosophizing and moralizing onlookers like the Duke. For the rest, the people he observed about him were on the whole amoral like Pompey, with his "Truly, sir, I am a poor fellow who would live!" or like Lucio, with his sprightly charm and gay licentiousness, a bit of a gadfly but an ingratiating and attractive one.

In the main Shakspeare was content to accept the story as he found it in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, except that he casually disposed "happy endings" in accord with the formulae of his time, certainly not in accord with Pater's noble spirit of "poetical justice," nor, I regret to say, with any special reference to what Chambers found constant in Shakspeare, "a belief in forgiveness as the virtue by which human goodness draws nearest to the divine."⁸ To round off his strong prejudice toward coupling leading characters, possibly to give a part to a special boy in the company, and even conceivably to find an excuse for working in one of his loveliest fragments of song (an excellent and most justifiable reason), the dramatist introduced Mariana, a pawn, but one who strangely speaks with a genuine sincerity largely lacking in the words and rhythms of the more important characters. The cool, impersonal, emotional tone which pervades the play, even in the bravura passages of Vincentio, Isabella, and Claudio, is, I feel, a clue to Shakspeare's attempt to evaluate his age simply by recording it, the while he strove to hold in check his personal feelings concerning "the expense of spirit in a waste of shame."

I have said that we might profitably consider the probable ensemble of the company for which the play was written. If we do so, we discover sufficient reason for the introduction of the potentially interesting Froth, who disappears with the rapidity of his name; of that most ill-clept Mistress Overdone, who is, in fact, so little done that it is difficult even to remember her two entrances; of Elbow, that embryonic Dogberry who never quite comes up to the promise of his first appearance; of the two Friars, Thomas and Peter, whose dramatic functions could so easily have been performed by either singly; of Abhorson, that super-supernumerary; and of Barnardine, who could so well have been merely referred to by the major characters. Of boys currently in the company, one can entertain no very high opinion: except for the mildly sympathetic child who played Mariana, the only capable player of women's parts, the boy cast for Isabella, would seem not only to have lacked the charm of those unfortunately since grown-up actors for whom in their soprano days were conceived Rosalind and Celia, Viola and Olivia, but to have actively partaken of

that moral smugness whose possession by the Lady Alice Egerton is the best excuse one can think up for Milton's later reproducing in *Comus* a sister-portrait to Shakspeare's most unintriguing picture of feminine chastity and self-conscious prudery.

But what of our dramatist himself? What was his solution of his dilemma? What was his decision when he found himself at the crossroads, with the road by which he had arrived blocked off by too many unrepeatable successes, and no new road clear for future passage? It is my belief that he loitered for a time at the crossroads, but that he was not happy merely measuring out his story to the measure of his actors for a certain measure of money in return; that he was not satisfied with commenting dispassionately upon his age, his world, and the world. I believe that he made peace with himself for the time being by writing those idealistic and "noble" passages, which so entranced the minds of the Victorians, which still make the play so "quotable," which struck such fiery eloquent response from Professor Chambers, and that he distributed these finer speeches in situations and to characters throughout the play where they would seem least inappropriate. I say least inappropriate, for the sensitive reader, ever mindful of the admirable dramatic fitness of the "purple passages" in the earlier and later comedies, in the histories (exclusive of *Richard II*, that long dramatic monologue so oddly broken up to be spoken by a large company of actors), and in the tragedies, must be shocked when Claudio, that mere cut-out character, suddenly breaks into the moving, haunting rhetoric of:

Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
 To lie in cold obstruction and to rot;
 This sensible warm motion to become
 A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit
 To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
 In thrilling region of thick-ribb'd ice;
 To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
 And blown with restless violence round about
 The pendant world; or to be worse than worst
 Of those that lawless and incertain thoughts
 Imagine howling: 'tis too horrible!
 The weariest and most loath'd wordly life
 That age, ache, penury and imprisonment

Can lay on nature is a paradise
To what we fear of death.

Claudio never thought up that. Shakspeare did. And having thought it up — and out — perforce he used it (artists are improvident only with material things, not with the things of art). And since no character in the play could measure up to the speech, he measured it almost abstractly — or even abstractedly?—to a suitable situation in his borrowed story.

Thus, standing puzzled at the crossroads, not yet having discovered that strait and narrow path which led to the damned heaven of Hamlet and of Lear, Shakspeare heeded the call of his job, possibly of an empty purse, and sent down to the theatre for his fellows to act a play almost absentminded in part, one that baffles the actors out of attempting to play it and that befuddles and bemuddles the critical mind, just because it was written by a man who had by now so well earned his trade that he could even absent-mindedly do a good technical job of plotting and planning. But for all its occasional technical dexterity, even its spasmodic mastery of dramatic matters, it is a play of shreds and patches, shreds of Shakspeare's reporting of his world, patches of his commentary upon his universe, neither too neatly sewed upon the generally competent tailor's job of the plot proper.

University of Colorado

* This paper was finished before the writer saw Roy W. Battenhouse's article, "Measure for Measure" and Christian Doctrine of the Atonement," PMLA LXI (Dec. 1946), 1029-1059. I have not been able to study the article as yet indetail, but I find myself incapable of accepting the thesis that Shakspeare was as familiar with or as interested in Christian doctrine per se as Mr. Battenhouse seems to suggest.

¹Walter Pater, *Appreciations* (London, 1918), pp. 173-174.

²J. Dover Wilson, *The Essential Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 1943), p. 117.

³In *Essays in Criticism by Members of the Department of English, University of California* (Berkeley, 1929).

⁴R. W. Chambers, *The Jacobean Shakespeare and Measure for Measure*. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume XXIII (London, 1937), p. 60.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁶Oscar James Campbell, *Shakespeare's Satire* (Oxford University Press, 1943).

⁷Pater, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁸Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

AND THEN STRATFORD

Year after year the century-new voice
Had roll'd its drama on expectant heart,
Had woven that most wondrous web — the art
Creating character with whim, will, choice,
Majestic suffering and winsome joys.
Upon the stage, beside the hearth, would start
Such poetry as only men impart
Who have the minds of seers, the lips of boys.

I knew them all: Othello, Hamlet, Lear,
Macbeth, Cordelia, Rosalind, and Puck,
That sweeping cavalcade — fool, buccaneer,
Ghost, lord, elf, wench, and king, by line or luck . . .
And then across his threshold, then, at last,
I walk'd where his immortal feet had passed!

EDNA D. ROMIG

Boulder, Colorado

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Vol. XXII

The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



Dr. James A. Tanselle

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Shakespeare and the Renaissance

The Shakespearean Period

The Shakespearean Period

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THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

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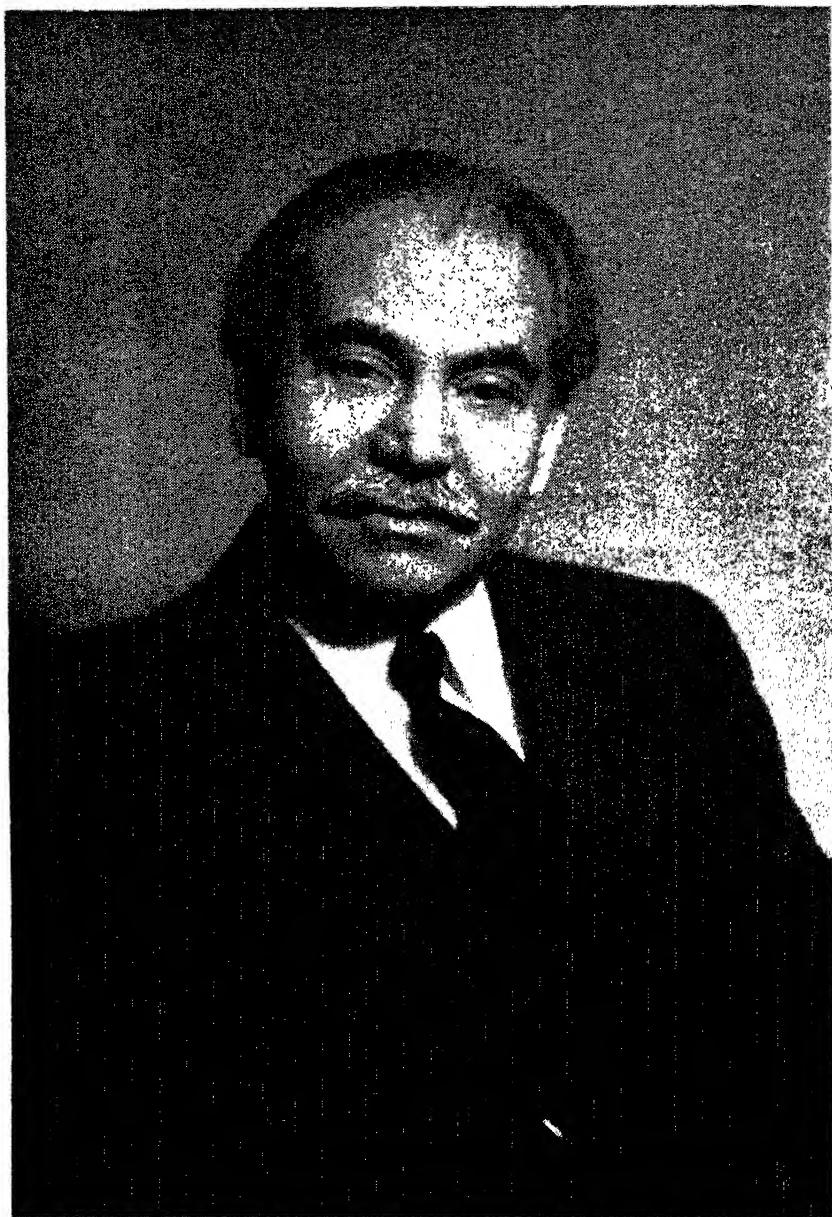
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DR. SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

DR. SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

DR. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, editor of our Shakespeare Association *Bulletin* for many years, now hands the editorship and secretaryship over to Robert M. Smith of Lehigh (*pro tem*) who begins his labors with this issue.* Our faithful editor and bibliographer has been seriously ill from overwork for several months and has been compelled to scale down his labors. He and Mrs. Tannenbaum have consented, however, to continue as contributing editors of the Annual Bibliographies, which have always been the indispensable part of the *Bulletin*.

When Lehigh University in 1932 conferred upon Dr. Tannenbaum an L.H.D., she did not confer the degree for his reputation as one of New York's leading physicians in the field of psychiatry, nor as an evening teacher of Shakspeare at Hunter College, but as a bibliographer and an authority on Shakspeare handwriting and Shakspeare forgeries.

If Samuel Johnson deemed lexicographers "harmless drudges," one wonders what he would have called bibliographers; for few persons realize the labor involved in a bibliography or why anyone should ever undertake a task so little appreciated; fewer yet realize why bibliographers are the opposite of "harmless."

The Rare Book fraternity and the Autograph trade have been inclined to consider the term bibliography applicable only to scientific analysis of fine points and slight differences in rare volumes and documents. In recent years, however, they have begun to realize only too well that bibliographers are something more than "harmless." Let one of these scientific examiners like John Carter, or Henrietta Bartlett, the dean of women in this field, especially for *Shakespeare Quartos*, analyze for fine points and slight differences in rare items and begin uncovering chicanery, and presently a bibliographer becomes occasionally the hope, but more frequently the despair, of the trade and the private collector. For some miserable bibliographer may come along any day and prove, by pointing out a few differences, that the dealer's item is a forgery or a "made-up" edition or is only

*The new editor gratefully acknowledges editorial assistance from his colleagues, Professors S. Blaine Ewing, Glenn J. Christensen, J. Burke Severs, Carl F. Strauch, and E. B. Everitt of Lehigh.

the second issue or edition, or that the title is in facsimile,—and thousands of dollars go up in smoke.

The term bibliography, however, should not be so confined; it should cover such bibliographies, which are not so perilous, as the Tannenbaums have put out for years at the cost of incalculable time, energy, and eyesight. Their notable series, which is indispensable, has involved through the years a labor of love for scholarship without hope of recognition or reward.

Sometimes referred to slightly as “mere library work,” they are, nevertheless, indispensable to graduate seminars in the Renaissance and Jacobean periods. Anyone who has sent his students to them knows what a saving of labor for students and research scholars the Tannenbaums have conferred upon scholarship by a labor the reverse of profitable and, let me repeat, without hope of adequate recognition or reward.

I have sometimes been asked: “How was it done? they must have an army of assistants.” Not at all! Both the research at the libraries and the transcriptions have been performed largely by Dr. Tannenbaum himself searching through endless periodical files and transcribing the descriptions on cards in the long hours of the night and far into the morning. This labor, with all his other tasks of running a large and exacting practice, teaching Shakspeare two evenings a week, appearing as expert witness in court inquiries concerning fraudulent documents, could not have been carried on without a perfectly disciplined schedule and a devoted and indefatigable household, both of which he has enjoyed. And yet he has always found time to greet scholars of standing who sought him out for advice and has generously put at their service his large library of books and his extremely wide knowledge.

The Shakespeare Association and the scholarly world at large are far more indebted to him than they will ever know. We may therefore take this opportunity to express the profound thanks of the Association in bidding him Godspeed to less ambitious and more restful days.

ROBERT METCALF SMITH

Lehigh University

THE FIRST PERFORMANCE OF *MACBETH*

BY HENRY N. PAUL.

Dean of the Shakspeare Society of Philadelphia

THE recent appearance of Mr. Dover Wilson's edition of *Macbeth* is an event of moment in the Shaksperian world for all of his work is full of helpful information, discovery, and suggestion. Among other points of interest the Introduction to this volume (p. xxviii) makes still more probable the suggestion, first made by Malone, that the play was written for performance before King James and his brother-in-law King Christian of Denmark during the visit of the latter to England in the summer of 1606. This proposition has been noted as a possibility or a probability by several editors of the play and has been supported with increasing insistence in the modern editions of Henry Cuningham and J. Q. Adams.

Another point urged by Mr. Wilson is that lines 97 to 100 of Act IV Scene III are an after-insertion by the author of the play. They are part of the scene where Malcolm falsely charges himself with a succession of vices. The Holinshed story, here closely followed, required him to name *voluptuousness, avarice, and falsehood* as his three besetting sins. The first two having been named by Malcolm, the dramatist suddenly deserts his source, omits *falsehood*, and substitutes these strange ranting lines:

. Nay, had I power, I should
Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell,
Uproar the universal peace, confound
All unity on earth.

That this is an after-insertion is proved by the fact that Malcolm (in line 130) retracts the charge of false-speaking although as the text now stands he has not charged himself with this vice. Nearly all will agree with Mr. Wilson when he insists that Shakspeare's rewriting of the original dialogue at this point "cannot be denied." (p. xxxi)

What Mr. Wilson has not noted is that this rewriting was the direct result of an event which occurred on July 31, 1606 during Christian's visit. Dependence of the language of the play upon this event is demonstrable (a strong word, but here proper), and from

this it follows, with only a little less certainty, that Macbeth was the play which was given by the King's Company before the two kings at Hampton Court on August 7th, 1606. The proofs of this are now to be stated:

The three abstractions attacked in Malcolm's after-inserted lines are Concord, Peace, and Unity.

As soon as King James reached England in the spring of 1603 on his way to ascend the English throne, he proclaimed Peace and Unity as his cardinal political ideals; for he wished to bring about peace with Spain and the union of his kingdoms. Consequently in the welcoming speeches with which he was greeted, the panegyric poems, and also in his early speeches to parliament we find proclamation of the motto or slogan Peace and Unity. Anyone glancing through Vol. I of Nichols' *Progresses of King James (1603-1606)* can quickly pick these out, and will recognize that by the latter date the couplet had become a by-word throughout the kingdom.

But there were many opposers. The profiteers of the war party were bitterly opposed to peace with Spain. And the London mob foolishly feared that the Scots would invade the Southern Kingdom and exercise too much power. They therefore seized every opportunity to attack the proposed peace and the union of the kingdoms. In the year 1606 to lessen this opposition the kingly phrase was enlarged and became a triplet proclaiming Love, Peace, and Unity as the royal ideals. In the early summer of that year appeared (S. R. May 9) Anthony Nixon's little serio-comic tract entitled *The Black Year*. Here (p. D^{2v}) we read

Many think well of themselves in making the Doctrine of love,
peace, and unity, the occasion of strife, contention and heresie.

This accurately defines the situation as it existed when the Danish king arrived in the Thames on July 17, 1606 and was invited to make his ceremonial progress along with his brother-in-law through the City of London on July 31. For this occasion the dramatist John Marston was commissioned to write the Latin speech (for King Christian understood little English) to be spoken to the two kings as they beheld the pageant of the day erected in Cheapside. This address was designed to glorify Love, Peace, and Unity. The original holograph MS of the address signed by John Marston is preserved in

the British Museum. It has been printed in Bullen's edition of Marston's *Works* (III, 407). But the Latin tongue possessed no word accurately denoting Love as a political virtue, and consequently Marston chose *Concordia* as the best Latin substitute for Love. Thus it came about that for this single occasion the triplet became Concord, Peace, and Unity. The address as the reader will find contains a glorification by Concordia of Heavenly Peace and Britons' Unity.

There are several accounts of the events of this day reprinted by Nichols in his *Progresses*; but the most full picture of what went on is to be found in an anonymous contemporary pamphlet entitled *The King of Denmark's Welcome*. (Ln. Edward Allde, 1606.) Unfortunately this rare but most important tract has never been reprinted, except for certain extracts relegated by Nichols to his Appendix, and these extracts do not include that part of the tract which is of most interest to the Shaksperian reader. This is a lengthy description of the composition of the royal procession as it passed from the Tower to Whitehall. Here it is recorded that near the front of the procession, following the King of Denmark's Trumpeters, "roade all our Kinges Groomes and Messengers of the Chamber" (p. 18). William Shakspeare was a "Groom of the Chamber," and we may therefore assume that he rode in person in his king's procession, and saw the unfortunate disturbance which occurred when they reached the pageant in Cheapside which is now to be described.

This so-called "pegme" was an enormous wooden structure, some fifty feet in height abounding with allegorical and mythological figures. Near the top was a compartment carrying the hatchment of Great Britain within which "sate enthroned the genius of Concorde," who at the proper moment was let down as the *deus ex machina* to deliver her address to the kings in praise of Peace and Unity.

The accounts published during the days of Christian's visit tactfully omit reference to the disgraceful tumult of the mob which accompanied this pageant. To learn the truth about it the account of the annalist Howes in his continuation of Stow's *Chronicle* (ed. of 1615 pp. 885-6) must be read:

Then the pageant after it had ceased her melodious harmony, began to expresse the purpose thereof, viz Divine *Concord* as sent from Heaven, descended in a cloud from the top unto the middle of the

stage, and with a loud voice spake an excellent speech in Latin purporting their heartie welcome, with the heavenly happiness of *peace* and *unitie* amongst Christian Princes, &c but through the distemperature of the unrulie multitude, the Kings could not well hear it, although they inclined their ears very seriously thereunto. [The noteworthy words are here italicized.]

John Davies of Hereford was so sensitive to this insult to his King that when he wrote a poem of Welcome to the Danes called *Bien Venu* (reprinted in Grosart's ed. of Davies) he inserted an apology for what had happened. One stanza of this is here quoted:

And let thy Muses so in Pageants speake
That they may make the Clamorous Crowde attend!
Although their voice, through wants, become so weake
That they may seeme to speak to little end
Sith the rude Multitude will silence breake,
Though speake there may an Angell or a fiend.
Yet what they speake, in Print, in Print may be
Convai'd aloft, down to Posteritie.

Thus we learn that the "clamorous crowd" created an uproar which spoiled the pageant and prevented the Kings from hearing the words addressed to them. John Davies could only express the hope that people, though they could not hear the words of Concord, would yet read what she had said as soon as it appeared in print. But this was not soon; for Bullen's edition of Marston was not published until 1887. There one may now read what Concord said in praise of Peace and Unity in forty-three lines of Latin iambics.

All that the kings and their retinues could do as the crowd drowned the voice of Concord was to pass quietly on their way, thinking their own thoughts. And William Shakespeare personally witnessed this.

Now we are in a position to understand why he changed Malcolm's speech so as to excise lines already written which treated lying or deceitfulness as the most offensive vice and substituted this insulting treatment of Concord, Peace, and Unity as a still greater vice, so as to make clear to the kings just what the King's Company thought of the conduct of this mob. The lines now seem mere rant but Shakespeare wrote them glowing with indignation at what he had witnessed.

There was no such verb as "uproar." He coined it as the only word fitting such a scene.

As already stated the Pageant occurred on July 31, 1606. Christian's visit extended from July 18 to Aug. 10. During this visit the King's Company performed three times before the two kings, as we learn from an entry in the Accounts of the Revels at Court which reads:

"To John Hemynges one of his Mts. players upon Warrant dated October 18, 1606 for three plays before his Matie and the King of Denmarke, twoe of them at Grenewich and one at Hampton Court." XXX¹¹ (Ln. Shakespeare Soc. 1842 Int. p. XXXVIII)

The accounts of Christian's entertainment that have survived make it easy to trace the whereabouts of the kings from day to day. They were at Greenwich on the evenings of July 18-23, 28-30, Aug. 2-5, and 8, (but it is stated that they rested this last evening), and at Hampton Court on the evening of Aug. 7.

We can hardly allow less than a week to give time for the writing and insertion of these lines, their tryout in rehearsal and their approval by the Master of the Revels. It therefore follows that Aug. 7 at Hampton Court is almost certainly the date of the first performance of *Macbeth*.

In addition to the English sources of information about this royal visit there is preserved at the Royal Library at Copenhagen a diary of a Danish nobleman who accompanied King Christian during this trip. He gives a little (too little) information about what happened but he does tell of the installation of King Christian at Windsor as a Knight of the Garter on the afternoon of August 7 and explains that the kings immediately returned to Hampton Court where they spent the night and that "after supper a play was performed." This is enough to enable the enthusiastic Shakspearian to picture in his mind the first performance of *Macbeth* in the great hall of Hampton Court as it was fitted up on the evening of August 7th with a stage at one end and two royal chairs in which the two kings sat immediately in front of the stage with accommodation for the English, Scottish, and Danish courtiers on either side. Still keeping this picture in mind he may watch the face of the Scottish king as he sees his royal ancestors descended in line from Banquo personated

one after the other by actors of the King's Company and slowly passing over the stage as the procession of the kings. He may hear Macbeth enviously say "some I see that two-fold balls and treble scepters carry." And he may also hear Malcolm, another of James' ancestors, describe as the most outrageous possible vice the effort of some to pour the sweet milk of Concord into Hell.

Strange words these: In the mouth of Malcolm they were mere rant, extravagant and insincere. As written by William Shakespeare, glorious rant expressing his just indignation. As heard by King James a soothing salve to his wounded pride. During a long period of years since then the words have seemed empty and without significance. But it now comes about that the words regain meaning in the play, and what is more startling they now describe with terrible distinctness a stark reality with which we are faced which causes them to give forth a most sinister ring. Truly Shakespeare was not of an age but for all time.

SHAKSPERE, THE MONTAIGNE OF ENGLAND

BY ROBERT M. SMITH

PROFESSOR George Coffin Taylor's new book, entitled *Essays of Shakspeare*,* will come as a familiar surprise to our group—*familiar*, because we have read these sententious lines before, *surprise* because we have never read them clustered together, after the fashion of a Bacon essay, around their central ideas, and revealing Shakspeare in a new light as philosopher, thinker, and sage, and showing what purports to be his opinions on Truth, Time, Love, Lust, Sleep, Philosophy, Adversity, Death, etc.

If by *philosopher* we mean dialectician or one who constructs an elaborate metaphysical system like Hegel's, the term is misapplied to Shakspeare; if we use it in Wordsworth and Coleridge's sense—of one who has thought deeply on life—then Professor Taylor's essays reveal how great a philosopher, or better, a sage Shakspeare is.

The ready objections to Professor Taylor's scheme of printing together Shakspeare's blank verse lines in prose essay form are two:

(1) Some readers may be irritated by such a juxtaposition of scattered verse passages and feel that the poetic values are destroyed. Pure aesthetes who object to the romantic fusion, or confusion, of the arts, will agree with Coleridge as against Wordsworth that there is a decided difference between prose and poetry, that the language and mode of prose and poetry are not identical. Sensitive readers with this belief might as well object to the prose of Poe, the blank verse rhythms of the death of Little Nell, or the less bathetic organ passages of DeQuincey such as his paraphrase of Raleigh, "O! just, subtle and mighty opium!" or of *Levana, Our Lady of Sorrows*. If prose-poems are "pestilential heresies," then Professor Taylor's effort is not for such critics.

(2) The second objection is the inference that scattered lines on the same subject wrenched from the plays out of their dramatic context do not and cannot express Shakspeare's considered philosophy of life, or even his own opinions on such matters as life, death, and eternity. These sententious passages are dramatic merely; they were

*George Coffin Taylor, *Essays of Shakspeare, An Arrangement* (Putnam's; New York, 1947), v-xv; 1-144, \$2.50.

so conceived and executed; they express only what the persons in the play appropriately think and convey at a given moment. For example, Frank Harris easily showed how Shakspeare must have been an incorrigible lecher, whose soul was consumed by the corrosive ulcer of sensuality, by gathering together from the sonnets and plays references to sexual passion and weaving them into a fantastic fable about Shakspeare and the Dark Lady, Mary Fitton. A slight difficulty lies in the fact that contemporary portraits of Mary Fitton show her as a Renaissance blonde of blue eyes and golden hair—the type gentlemen preferred in those days—except, of course, that Shakspeare with a sonnet in defense of the Dark Lady inevitably revealed that he in taste was no gentleman, even though he afterward became one by purchase price. Similarly Legouis¹ engaged to prove to the British Academy that Shakspeare was a drunkard; and all members of what Professor William Tenney Brewster, in his admirable article on “The Search for Shakspeare’s Personality,”² calls the “high significance” school of interpretation, still believing that Shakspeare wore his heart upon his sleeve and exhibited to the world this bleeding pageant, can by these methods make the poet anything they please from a high class Brahmin to the son of a butcher, of whom all we know certainly is that he was an ignorant lout who was “born, lived, drank, and died.” Those, however, who belong to Professor Brewster’s “small significance” school contend with Browning that Shakspeare was a dramatist, that if he were revealing himself in sonnet and play then “the less Shakspeare he.” We cannot certainly know what Shakspeare thought on any subject. As Sidney Lee insisted, Shakspeare’s thought and art are imitative and impersonal.³

At this point we arrive at the crux presented by Professor Taylor’s excellent book when he asks in his *Preface* whether anyone can object to rearranging Shakspeare’s philosophic passages so that we may estimate his value as a thinker better than when we find his golden opinions “cut into a thousand bits and scattered to the four winds.” Professor Taylor is well aware of the objections and has anticipated and answered them in his *Preface*. We may venture the suggestion that possibly the truth lies in a middle course between the extremes of the “high” and the “small” significance schools. It is hard to believe, in spite of Sidney Lee, that there is not genuine autobiographical feeling in some of the sonnets and passages in the plays. Why should Hamlet deliver his prose eloquence on the whole duty of an actor in a play already replete, unless Shakspeare wished to relieve his



GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR

personal irritations of long standing as a dramatic manager, and visit his scorn on clowns who *ad lib*, and barnstormers, like Edward Alleyn, who "o'er do Termagant" and "tear a passion to tatters"? Why does he give to little men in a play speeches on life and death far beyond what they could have conceived or uttered?—for example, as has been recently contended in the *Bulletin*, to Claudio in his observations on death, or to the unreflecting Hotspur:

But thought's the slave of life, and life time's fool; And time, that takes survey of all the world, Must have a stop.

This is a passage Professor Taylor might well have included in the essay on *Time* or on *Mutability*; for Hotspur is the last man in Shakspeare's world who would or could have talked this way. We miss, too, under *Of Ingratitude*, the passage from "Blow, blow thou winter wind":

Thou art not so unkind as man's ingratitude; thy tooth is not so keen, because thou art not seen although thy breath be rude.

or again under *On Injustice in Society*, Hamlet's list of the ills that flesh is heir to (III, i, 69-74). Neither these passages nor Hamlet's reflections on the death of greatness in Alexander and imperial Caesar, are merely dramatic; nor Rosalind and Celia's argument on Fortune and Nature. Here surely is Shakspeare thinking and turning over in his mind and adding his commentary to the commonplaces of Euphuistic debate.

Therefore, we may conclude that Professor Taylor has done us a service by showing how much more readable and moving are these passages of wisdom in essay form than Bacon's; how if they do not match exactly Bacon's shrewd and calculating observations, they cover a wider range of human thought and feeling; for they do not merely reason, they move. Who was ever *moved* by a Bacon essay? *Shakespeare's Essays*, as put together by Professor Taylor, are "literature of power." We find ourselves in the presence of a mind so luminous and comprehensive in its range that *we* are moved to ex-

claim what we never quite realized before: "Shakspeare was, indeed, the Montaigne of England!"

Furthermore, if these are not Shakspeare's thoughts, whose are they? No one can deny that they all passed through his mind and emerged "in form and moving how express and admirable." Even though Shakspeare might not have arranged these reflections in Professor Taylor's order, who can doubt that they exhibit an imaginative power never equalled by any other human being and cast a shade over the sagacious Bacon. They reveal a wisdom so acute, so wide, and so deep that they are matched in kind only by Shakspeare's great French contemporary, Montaigne.

And here we come back to Professor Taylor's special field, the influence of Montaigne on Shakspeare. How many of these thoughts are Montaigne's? Professor Taylor has shown us how soaked in Montaigne Shakspeare's mind was from the time of *Hamlet* (if not earlier) to that of *The Tempest*—especially in *Hamlet*; and Henderson, perhaps less convincingly, in *King Lear*.⁴ How many of them, on the contrary, are merely current coin of the moral commonplace books, as Alice Harmon has contended?⁵ Here again we need a middle ground; certainly many of these ideas are the current coin of the Renaissance, that inextricable and inconsistent mixture of medieval and modern thinking. As has been frequently observed the Renaissance was more inconsistent than it had any right to be. No one will deny, however, that in the passage of these ideas through the crucible of Shakspeare's imagination they issued a refined gold, never discovered before or since. Indubitably, on the other hand, many of these reflections are his own.

But what of the value of these meditations? That gracious and learned scholar, Professor Osgood, finds in them no "means of grace."⁶ In contrast to Dante, Spenser, Milton, and Johnson, Shakspeare was not by conviction so grounded in the Christian faith that he can fortify today the soul in a harassed world of atom bombs. There is here no ringing challenge of militant faith such as Milton and his associates manifest in Professor Osgood's charming little volume. Professor Taylor, however, cites Emerson's opinion that Shakspeare is the greatest of all thinkers (x-xi). Emerson evidently found some "means of grace" in him:

So far from Shakspeare's being the least known, he is the one person, in all history, known to us. What point of morals, of manners, of economy, of philosophy, of religion, of taste, of the conduct of life, has he not settled? What mystery has he not signified his knowledge of, what office or function, or district of man's work, has he not remembered?

and Coleridge:

In all points from the most important to the most minute, the judgment of Shakspeare is commensurate with his genius--nay, . . . his genius reveals itself in his judgment, as in its most exalted form . . . Does God choose idiots by whom to convey the divine truths to man?

The hard-headed critics of our time may counter that these are but the ravings of romantic visionaries, not the judgment of sober and substantial scholars. "Shakspeare," says Draper, whom Professor Taylor justly calls "the most industrious publisher of Shakspeare articles in America"—articles, I may add, that penetrate the recesses of the Elizabethan mind and age, however, one may disagree with Draper's conclusion—"Shakspeare regarded philosophy not only with disfavor but with derision and contempt" (Taylor, x).

Here again we are at extremes with the critics of romantic and realistic excess. What we need is to return to the texts, first to Montaigne's and now to Shakspeare's *Essays*, to be amazed not at their differences so much as at their likenesses. A major difference is Montaigne's blithe and happy-go-lucky fun with himself as a representative man:

Presumption is our natural and original disease. Man, the most calamitous and frail of all creatures, is yet the proudest of all. . . . This wretched and feeble creature is actually persuaded that the admirable vault of heaven, the eternal light of the torches over his head, the fearful tides of the infinite sea, were established and continued for so many ages just for his convenience and use.

As for Shakspeare,—and this, I believe, is what troubles Professor Osgood, as it did Ben Jonson viewing his fellow Shakspeare from Stratford in Edwin Arlington Robinson's vignette—the poet seems to have had a profounder melancholy than Montaigne:

. he sees no gate,
 Save one whereat the spent clay waits a little
 Before the churchyard has it, and the worm.
 'No, Ben,' he mused; 'Tis Nothing. It's all Nothing.
 We come, we go; and when we're done, we're done;
 Spiders and flies—we're mostly one or t'other—
 We come, we go; and when we're done, we're done.'
 'By God, you sing that song as if you knew it!'
 Said I, by way of cheering him; 'What ails ye?'

But 'rare Ben' departs from Professor Osgood when he adds:

For granted once the old way of Apollo
 Sings in a man, he may then, if he's able,
 Strike unafraid whatever things he will
 Upon the last and wildest of new lyres;
 Nor out of his new magic, though it hymn
 The shrieks of dungeoned hell, shall he create
 A madness or a gloom to shut quite out
 A cheering daylight, and a last great calm
 Triumphant over shipwreck and all storms.⁷

—an indication that the poetic imagination is more comprehensive than the Christian faith. Three of Professor Osgood's men of high faith, Dante, Milton, and Johnson, share in arrogance and conceit some of that first of the deadly sins from which the others are derived. Perhaps, if we stressed less the first of Paul's Christian virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity and practised the last, which he thought the greatest, the other two would largely take care of themselves. What the world seems to need is less dogma and more of Chaucer's, Erasmus's, Montaigne's, Shakspeare's, and Emerson's polarity of mind.

The beneficent influence of these minds spreads widely and flows deeply through the life of the modern age. "For not faith but doubt has liberated and humanized the world. The force which has blunted the sword of the crusader and thrown the rack of the inquisitor on the scrap-heap, which has dissipated the mists of superstition and broken the spell of outward hocus-pocus has been the spirit of Montaigne!"⁸

Moreover, we should never forget that, like Montaigne, Shakspeare outwardly conformed to the Christian faith all his days, as Cumberland Clark reveals in his *Shakespeare and the Supernatural*.⁹ Mon-

taigne, however his imagination may range, explicitly declares that he intends to die in the Catholic faith of his fathers. Similarly the skeptical Shakspeare was born, as Professor Parrott reminds us, of a Catholic mother and a father who was persecuted for recusancy;¹⁰ therefore, he was tolerant of religious differences and possibly as he saw the tearing factions of religious strife all around him, like Montaigne, he contemplated them with the feeling: "Alas for the spirit of Christian charity under the sun." He was baptized in the Anglican Church, in which, so far as we know, he was always a member of good standing, as he was regarded by his fellow citizens at his death. They would never have buried him in the chancel of the Church of the Holy Trinity if he had been considered a wild atheist and revolutionary. We have only to recall the difficulties, still unsolved, of getting Byron into Westminster Abbey. Moreover, Tucker Brooke again reminds us in his brilliant essay, "Shakspeare Apart" how traditional Shakspeare's mind was, and how incompletely it reflected the Renaissance.¹¹

The skeptical spirit of the Renaissance, as reflected in Montaigne and Shakspeare, does not preclude, however penetrating or pessimistic it may sound, faith in the higher reaches of the human spirit. Hence our readers will always be glad to have Professor Taylor's book at hand to refresh themselves with the comprehensiveness and the glories of Shakspeare's mind.

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¹⁰Emile Legouis, "The Bacchic Element in Shakspeare's Plays," *British Academy Proceedings* (London, 1926), pp. 115-132.

¹¹William Tenney Brewster, *Columbia University Shaksperian Studies* (New York, 1916), pp. 61-115.

¹²Sidney Lee, *Elizabethan and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 85-115.

¹³W. B. D. Henderson, *S. A. B.*, XIV, 209-25; XV, 40-54.

¹⁴See Professor Taylor's analysis of seventy-five types of evidence in three of the grand divisions of Elizabethan research entitled "Montaigne—Shakspeare and the Deadly Parallel," *PQ.*, XXII, 330-397, and his defense therein against the attack of Alice Harmon's, "How Great Was Shakspeare's Debt to Montaigne?" *PMLA*, XLVII, 418 ff.

¹⁵C. G. Osgood, *Poetry as a Means of Grace* (Princeton, 1941), pp. 23-24.

¹⁶E. A. Robinson, *The Man Against the Sky* (Macmillan; New York, 1920), pp. 59-60, 65. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

¹⁷P. Smith, *A History of Modern Culture* (Holt; New York, 1930), I, 417.

¹⁸Cumberland Clark, *Shakspeare and the Supernatural*, Part II, "Shakspeare and Religion" (Williams & Norgate Ltd., London, 1931).

¹⁹T. M. Parrott, *William Shakspeare* (Scribner's; New York, 1934), pp. 8-9.

²⁰C. F. Tucker Brooke, "Shakspeare Apart," *Yale Review*, New Series, II (1921-22), 102-116.

ROMEO AND JULIET: A REINTERPRETATION

BY H. EDWARD CAIN

I

A GREAT many critics of *Romeo and Juliet*, in particular the more recent commentators, have insisted upon the view that this play is a tragedy of fate and that the beautiful lovers of Verona are overwhelmed entirely by tragic forces moving outside of and about them. "To seek the cause of their 'piteous overthrow' in some inherent guilt or tragic flaw, infilial disobedience or sensuality or rashness, is entirely mistaken."¹ They themselves are without blemish or blame. The tragic *ἀμαρτία* of Aristotle's *Poetics* is absent, and for this reason *Romeo and Juliet* is given a place apart. It is essentially different, we are told, from the Great Tragedies.

For instance, in such a standard and recent work as Allardyce Nicoll's *British Drama* we read:

This tragedy [*Romeo and Juliet*] is obviously a young man's effort and shows the fullness of Renaissance thought and passion. In spite of its lyricism it is of the earth. There is no spiritual message here, no mental struggles, no wearied emotion that almost reaches the levels of mysticism as in *Macbeth* and in *Hamlet*. The love of Romeo and Juliet is an earthly passion, and the whole colour of the play is rich with those dazzling hues which we associate with fifteenth-century Italy. These features separate *Romeo* markedly from the later tragedies . . . The tragedy of Romeo and Juliet might, after all, have been a comedy. Mercutio did not need to die; little lies between the two lovers and a happy existence. There is nothing wrong in their actions; there is nothing wrong in their grasping at this youthful passion. They are merely star-crossed; fate and even chance thwart their best considered plans . . . This form of tragedy of fate is the typical type [*sic*] of Greek drama; but there are aeons between the spirit of *Oedipus* and the spirit of *Romeo*. The Greek tragedy owed its greatness partly to the awful religious conceptions of the time, to the idea of some power or powers governing human lives and human actions, partly to the fusion of mortal error, the *ἀμαρτία* of Aristotle, with this fatal power. With Shakespeare fate as such is simply not conceived; we do not rise from a reading of *Romeo and Juliet* with the feeling that some tremendous power stands over our petty lives; we rise with the feeling that some blind chance has obstructed wildly the deeds of these two lovers. There is not the profound

majesty of Greek drama leading to emotions that are full of terror and sublimity; there are only the petty movements of a conscienceless power that leaves us rebellious and dissatisfied.²

Whatever the true philosophical inwardness of these somewhat confusing statements about fate and chance, it is nonetheless clear that Nicoll regards the tragedy as one which is brought about entirely by forces outside of the hero. This is typical of a large segment of contemporary criticism. The assertion that there are no mental struggles; the implied allegation that its characters are less noble and less universal than the characters of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* and, contrariwise, are on the level of domestic tragedy; its contention that the tragedy is essentially different from and therefore to be separated from Shakespeare's great tragedies; the belief that mortal error, the *ἀμαρτία* of Aristotle, is absent—all are characteristic of this approach to the play.

Similar opinions are at hand in great numbers. Professor Parrott's recent college text of Shakspeare³ holds that "it is, in essence, a tragedy of fate." Although Parrott is actually following a tradition of long standing which has persisted until now, as we shall see, he speaks of the "accepted critical creed" that in Shakespearean tragedy the protagonist is responsible for his own fall, but proclaims his willingness to accept the risk of seeming to be heretical because he holds that Romeo is blameless. Here, he says, is "no picture of lives ruined by a tragic fault, rather of characters exalted by ennobling passion." In this category belongs also Chambers,⁴ who tells us that Romeo and Juliet "are raised into the highest heaven, merely that an envious fate may pluck them down again. Love is a mighty power, but destiny is mightier still, and cruel. And the conflict of these titanic forces, crushing the young lives between them, is the issue of the tragedy." And so one might pile instance upon instance to indicate that a good many modern students of the play are at one in the belief that "it is the idlest of critical follies to look for a tragic flaw in Romeo or Juliet."

Although it appears that such a view of *Romeo and Juliet* is very old, it is probably to the influence of Professor Boas that its early prominence in English criticism is to be ascribed, for during the last decade of the nineteenth century⁵ he set the play down as a tragedy "of destiny," and added:

No *a priori* ideas that Shakspeare is pre-eminently the poet of free will as opposed to necessity should prevent us recognizing that in *Romeo and Juliet*, following the steps of Brooke, and treating a characteristically mediaeval theme, he has given to Fate a prominence unique in his writings. The lovers have been 'star-crossed,' and in their 'misadventured, piteous overthrows' they merit neither blame nor praise.⁷

That such an idea of tragedy as these critics have perceived in the structure of *Romeo and Juliet* was current in the English Renaissance, and that it stood along side of and was often fused with the Christian tendency "to see the spectacle of human calamity as a result of wrong doing,"⁸ can hardly be debated, but it is the purpose of the present paper to underscore the view that *in Shakespearean tragedy the Christian view of life is preferred*.⁹ Indeed, this is explicitly the view of Bradley, who is, of course, the most widely reputed proponent of the position which this paper espouses:

In the circumstances where we see the hero placed, his tragic trait, which is also his greatness, is fatal to him. To meet these circumstances something is required which a smaller man might have given, but which the hero cannot give. He errs, by action or omission; and his error, joining with other causes, brings on him ruin. This is always so with Shakespeare. As we have seen, the idea of the tragic hero as a being destroyed simply and solely by external forces is quite alien to him; and not less so is the idea of the hero as contributing to his destruction only by acts in which we see no flaw. But the fatal imperfection or error, which is never absent, is of different kinds and degrees. At one extreme stands the excess and precipitancy of Romeo, which scarcely, if at all, diminishes our regard for him; at the other the murderous ambition of Richard III.¹⁰

The tragedy presents, therefore, in Bradley's view, not only an external, but also an internal conflict, although the internal conflict is little emphasized.

The truth is, that the type of tragedy in which the hero opposes to a hostile force an undivided soul, is not the Shakespearean type. The souls of those who contend with the hero may be thus undivided; they generally are; but, as a rule, the hero, though he pursues his fated way, is, at least at some point in the action, and sometimes at many, torn by an inward struggle; and it is frequently at such points that Shakespeare shows his most extraordinary power. If further we compare the earlier tragedies with the later, we find that it is in the latter,

the maturest works, that this inward struggle is most emphasized. In the last of them, *Coriolanus*, its interest completely eclipses toward the close of the play that of the outward conflict. *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard III.*, *Richard II.*, where the hero contends with an outward force, but comparatively little with himself, are all early plays.¹¹

And so, however obscured by the outward conflict, the internal conflict is nevertheless present in *Romeo and Juliet*. In this view I concur and in what follows I shall attempt to support its validity.

II

As far as I am aware, no attempt has been made to study *Romeo and Juliet* against its background of sixteenth century moral philosophy. Miss Campbell in her well-known work on Shakespeare's treatment of the passions has made detailed studies of *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth*, but not of *Romeo and Juliet*.¹² The chief purpose of this paper is to adduce evidence to support an interpretation of *Romeo and Juliet* as a study of the passion of anger. Miss Campbell, who deals very thoroughly with this passion in her study of *King Lear*, has naturally emphasized those aspects of the ethical literature which lend substance to her treatment of wrath in old age. It will be necessary for the purpose of the present study, therefore, which treats with special emphasis those aspects of the passion which appear in youth, to supplement extensively the materials which Miss Campbell has presented from the corpus of English Renaissance philosophical writings and to interpret anew much of the evidence.

In order to avoid any ambiguities in the use of terms, it will be well to point out in the beginning that the term *anger* was synonymous with *wrath* and *ire*, the terms found especially in medieval writers, and with *choler*, a term used often in the Renaissance. Miss Campbell limits her list of synonyms to these four, but as will be clear from later considerations of this matter, she might have added to her list such terms as *impatience* and especially *rage* and *fury*, since these latter are among the ones which sixteenth century writers use and which Shakespeare employs in *Romeo and Juliet*.¹³ Since patience was the virtue through which man restrained anger, it is logical that in its negative form it should be synonymous with that passion.¹⁴

We shall therefore begin our considerations of the philosophical literature with this virtue of patience in mind, for one of the capital

aspects of the passion of anger is, frequently, the refusal of its victim to accept, like Job, whatever heaven bestows:

And here shall I note you two kind of folke that are in tribulacion and heauines. One sorte that will seeke for no coumforte, another sorte that will. And yet of those that will not, are there also two sortes. For first one sorte there are, that are so drowned in sorowe, that they falle into a carelesse deadelye dulnesse, regarding nothing, thinking almost of nothing, no more then if they laye in a letarge, with whiche it may so falle, that witte and remembrance wil weare awaye, and falle euen fayre from them. And this comfortles kind of heauinesse in tribulacion, is the highest kind of the deadly sinne of slouth. Another sorte are there, that will seeke for no coumforte, nor yet none receiue, but are in their tribulacion (be it losse or sickenes) so testie, so fummythe, and so farre oute of all pacience, that it booteth no man to speake to them, and these are in a maner with impacience, as furious as though they wer in halfe a frenesyc, and may with a custome of such fashioned behaueour, falle in therto full and whole. And this kynd of heauinesse in tribulacyon, is euen a mischieuous hygh braunche of the mortale sinne of yre.¹⁵

From this point More moves on to a consideration of the kinds and causes of human suffering and to an instruction of how the Christian man is to accept the tribulations which are sent by Divine Providence:

Euery tribulacion that we fal in, cometh either by our own knownen deseruyng dede, bringing vs therunto, as the sykenes that foloweth our intemperate surfayt, or the prisonment or other punishment put vpon a man for hys heynous crime, or els is it sente vs by God wythout any certayne deseruyng cause open and knowen vnto our selfe, eyther for punyshment of some sinnes passed. Certaynlye we knowe not for whiche, or for preseruyng vs from synne in which we were els lyke to fal, or fynally for no respect of the mans synne at all, but for the proofs of his pacience and encrease of hys merite.¹⁶

Consequently, whether Romeo felt that the loss of Juliet which ensued as a punishment upon his killing of Tybalt was a sorrow due to sin, or whether he was convinced, as Arthur Brooke has it,¹⁷ that in the circumstances in which he slew Tybalt he committed no sin, he was still compelled as a Christian to bow to the will of heaven and to practice the virtue of patience. A passage from La Primaudaye which discusses the character of the angry man, seems to confirm the views of More:

. . . after that anger hath once got the bridle at will, the whole mind and judgement is so blinded and caried headlong, that an angry man thinks of nothing but of revenge, insomuch that he forgetteth himselfe, and careth not what he doeth, or what harme wil light upon himselfe in so doing, so that he may be avenged. And many times hee will murmure against heaven and earth, and against all the creatures, because they are not mooved to revenge his quarell: yea, which is worse, he despiteth God himselfe and waxeth wroth against him, blaspheming him, because he taketh not pleasure in serving his revenging minde. Which is as much as if he should spette against heaven: and therefore it is very necessarie, that his spettle, proceeding from a such a stinking mouth, shoulde returne and fall backe upon his own face. And when this passion of anger is verie vehement, it leadeth a man even to furie and rage, and procureth unto him not only manie diseases, but oftentimes death itselfe.¹⁸

Elsewhere La Primaudaye underscores heavily the point that true patience means the acceptance of the Divine Will and that *impatience* is another name for *contumacie*:

Therefore, true patience which we ought to imbrace in all things, not as compelled and of necessitie, but cheerefully and as resting in our welfare, is a moderation and tolerance of our evils, which, albeit we sigh under the heavië burthen of them, cloth us in the meane while with a spirituall joy, that striveth so wel and mastreth in such sort the sense of nature which shunneth grieffe, that in the end it worketh in us an affection of pietie and godlines, joined with a free and cheerfull minde, under the yoke and obedience of the just and rightfull will of God, through a certaine expectation of things promised, and causeth us to judge impatiencie to be contumacie and rebellion to the divine will, and sufficient of it selfe to make a man to be called wretched.¹⁹

Having considered these sixteenth century ethical views of the passion of anger and the virtue of patience with reference to the problem of human suffering, we may pass on to what may be considered simply general ethical discussions of the passion of anger. One of the most interesting of these elaborations on the passion is to be found in the work of a sixteenth century physician:

But anger or perturbation is mooued of naturall heate, it needeth no meane to helpe it: as wee feele by ourselues in colde weather, let our Enemy sodaynely appeare before us, or if we heare our selues

shamefully rebuked, we neede no fyre to kindle the flame of our choler, forthwyth we are in the house top, the holiest of us all. For heate aboue nature, wyll quickly inclose the heart and with swiftnes go further seeking vengeance. Unto thys euil be Cholerik men most bent, which must use often to correct Choler: or els to obserue an order whych a worthy Philosopher taught a hasty Prynce, y hee should before he did anything, mooued by quicke and sodayne affection, fyrst, saye ouer the Alphabet, or the number of letters: thys Heathen rule agaynst anger or rashenes, wyll not hurt the Chryistians. It declareth great pride and anger, to be sodaynely mooued. As example. At euery light wynde, weake trees will mooue, and tremble with theyr braunches, from ground to the top of the same: whych wyth great storme and wyndes will skant mooue the great strong tree. Prouidence and patience, make men strong, and cause them to get the victory of themselues: and to bee able to wythstand anger, whych is a common passion of cruell Beastes, Tyrantes, & Fooles. It should seeme by *Domitius Nero*, that he was an angry wretch to murder hys Mother, to poyson his Scholemayster, and finally to sticke himselfe . . . When *Ecelinus* the Tyrant in battaile had receiued a woud forthwyth he cast his weapon away, and roared like a mad beast, and in his cruel anger, rent his skin from his owne flesh, which, when his enemies espyed, they so laughed that in a great rage and anger, he slue himselfe . . . *Bubulam* an Excellent Paynter, did so liuely set forth the monstrous Image of a deformed Poet called Hypponax, that the beholders had greate pastime, and laughted therat. But in the meane tyme, the Poet wrote such nipping, sharpe, taunting verses, agaynst this paynter: that in a sodayne rage he ran in to his house and hanged himselfe.²⁰

This analysis of the passion emphasizes the universality of anger; underscores its physiological aspects, and thus stresses the effects of warm and cold weather upon those who are beset by anger; cautions men against being "sodaynely mooued"; ascribes the passion to a weakness in nature; stresses the need of patience even in the strong man if he is to overcome anger; points out that anger is common to beasts (note that Ecelinus the Tyrant in his anger roared like a beast); and, by examples, warns that those who fall victims to it, like Nero, move from one crime to another and, at length, fall to suicide.

La Primaudays seems to occupy much the same general position but because he approaches the question solely as an ethical writer, he tends to vary the emphasis given by Bullein:

. . . Impatience is a weakenes and imbecilitie of a base, vile, and contemptible nature, wherein choler, and in the end wrath, are easilie engendred, which are two verie pernicious passions in the soule, and differ nothing from furie (as the elder Cato saide) but onelie in this, that they continue a lesser time, and this a longer. This is that which Possidonius teacheth us, saying: that Anger is nothing else but a short furie. *Aristides* called it the inflammation of blood, and an alteration of the hart . . . But besides the saiens of all these Sages, experience sufficiently sheweth us, that Choler and Anger are enemies to all reason: and (as Plutarke saith) are no lesse proude, presumptuous, and uneasie to be guided by another, than a great & mightie tyrannie: Insomuch that a ship given over to the mercie of the winds and stormes, would sooner of it selfe receive a Pilot from without, than a man caried headlong with wrath and choler, would yeeld to the reason and admonition of another. For an angry man (like to those that burn themselves within their owne houses) filleth his soule in such sort with trouble, chafing, and noyse, that he neither seeth nor heareth any thing that would profit him, unlesse he made provision long time before to succour himselfe with reason through the studie of wisdom, whereby he may be able to overthrow his impaciencie and choler, which argue and accompany for the most part a weak and effeminate hart. And that this is true, we see that women are sooner driven into choler than men . . . ²¹

Here choler and wrath, both of which spring from impatience, which is a weakness in human nature, are identified with fury; further, those thus afflicted are not likely to be guided by the "admonition of another," for, they are blind and deaf to what is good for them unless they have prepared themselves beforehand for the assaults of anger by studying "wisdom," i.e., philosophy; that is to say, anger is the enemy of reason; and therefore those most likely to fall victim to anger are persons, for the most part, of "a weak and effeminate hart," as we see in the fact that "women are sooner driven into choler than men."

Although it may be argued that La Primaudaye in this case uses the word "furie" to mean a kind of madness, as he does elsewhere,²² nevertheless it becomes clear when we examine the following from Elyot that by 1531 "furie" had already been identified with "ire" and "wrath" and explicitly called a "passion":

. . . as Tulli saithe . . . no thinge . . . more becometh a man noble and honorable, than mercy and placabilitie. The value therof is beste known by the contrarye, whiche is ire, called vulgarely wrathe, a vice moste ugly and ferrest from humanitie. For who, beholdynge a

man in estimation of nobilitie and wisdom by furie chaunged in to an horrible figure, his face infarced with rancour, his mouthe foule and imbossed, his eien wyde starynge and sparklynge like fire, nat speakyng, but as a wylde bulle, roryng and brayienge out wordes despitefull and venemaus; forgetyng his astate or condition, forgetting lernyng, ye forgetyng all reason, wyll nat haue such a passion in extreme detestation? Shall he nat wisse to be in suche a man placabilitie? Werby only he shulde be eftsones restored to the fourme of a man, wherof he is by wrathe despoyled . . . ²³

This passage, however, is also interesting because it points up sharply one of the most constant elements in Renaissance views of anger, that because of its great violence, it turns men to beasts, and is indeed a kind of madness because it deprives man of reason.

Before turning from the philosophers we may consider one other passage:

Choler is a foolish passion which putteth vs wholly out of our selues, and with seeking the meanes to withstand and beat backe the euill which it threatneth vs, or hath already procured vs, maketh the bloud to boile in our hearts, and stirreth vp furious vapors in our spirits, which blinde vs and cast vs headlong to whatsoeuer may satisfie the desire which wee haue of reuenge. It is a short fury, a way to madnesse: by the prompt and ready impetuosity and violence thereof, it carrieth and summounteth all passions . . . The causes that dispose and mooue vnto choler are first weakenesse of spirit, as wee see by experience in women, old men, infants, sicke men, who are commonly more cholericke than others . . .

The signes and symptomes are very manifest, and more than of any other passion; and so strange that they alter and change the whole estate of man, they transforme and disfigure him . . . Some of them are outward, the face red and deformed, the eies fiery, the lookes furious, the eare deafe, the mouth foaming, the heart panting, the pulse beating, the veines swollen, the tongue stammering, the teeth gnashing, the voice loud and hoarse, the speech imperfect, and to be briefe, it puts the whole bodie into a fire and a feuer . . .

Choler at the first blow driueth away and banisheth reason and judgement, to the end it may wholly possesse the place . . .

The effects thereof are great, many times miserable and lamentable . . . It entrappeth and intangleth vs, makes vs to speake and to doe things shamefull, vncomely, vnworthy our selues . . . it carrieth vs so beyond our selues, that it makes vs to doe things scandalous, dangerous, and irreuocable, murders, poisonings, treasons . . . ²⁴

Here is repeated the common notion that anger makes man something else than he was, a beast, "ferrest from humanitie," altering even his outward form in such a way as to suggest the beastliness of the inward passion. Here also are other familiar ideas: it is common not only to old men but also to women and children, for anger attacks those first who are weak by nature; choler is a short fury, a degree of madness; anger deprives man of reason; and, finally, the effects of anger are miserable, causing man to do things unworthy of himself such as murders, poisonings, treasons. In general, this passage provides a useful summary of many of the Renaissance ideas about anger.

The ethical thinking of such writers as have been so far considered is elaborated and concretized in striking detail by Spenser. In the *Faerie Queene*, Book Two, Cantos iv, v, and vi, the passion is anatomized so completely that the scope of the present paper forbids a full discussion of all relevant details; but brief references to the more important ones will be attempted.

In Canto iv, Sir Guyon encounters Furor, Spenser's abstraction of the passion of anger, "a mad man, or that feigned mad to bee," (2. 4. 3) and the hag Occasion, his mother, "the root of all wrath and despight" (2. 3. 10). The Knight of Temperance contends with him and at length, counselled by the Palmer or Reason, he subdues Furor:

With hundred yron chaines he did him bind,
And hundred knots that did him sore constraine:
Yet his great yron teeth he still did grind,
And grimly gnash, threatning reuenge in vaine;
His burning eyen, whom bloudie strakes did staine,
Stared full wide, and threw forth sparkes of fire,
And more for ranck despight, then for great paine,
Shakt his long lockes, coloured like copper-wire,
And bit his tawny beard to show his raging ire. (st. xv.)

In contrast to Guyon in this context Spenser places Phedon "weak wretch, of many weakest one" (st. xvii), whose jealousy is prologue to his wrath, the passion which causes his first crime, namely, the slaughter of his innocent love.

That after soon I dearely did lament;
For when the cause of that outrageous deede
Demaunded, I made plaine and euident,

Her faultie Handmayd, which that bale did breede,
 Confest, how Philemon her wrought to chaunge her weede.

Which when I heard, with horrible affright
 And hellish fury all enragd, I sought
 Vpon my selfe that vengeable despight
 To punish: yet it better first I thought,
 To wreake my wrath on him, that first it wrought.
 To *Philemon*, false faytour *Philemon*
 I cast to pay, that I so dearely bought;
 Of deadly drugs I gaue him drinke anon,
 And washt away his guilt with guiltie potion. (sts. xxix-xxx.)

And so he goes on from crime to crime until he is rescued by Guyon in his role of the Knight of Temperance, who thus may well have saved him from the suicide which he earlier contemplated (st. xxx, 11. 1-5).

In these two brief fables, Spenser illustrates the difference between a strong man and a weak man as each encounters the passion of anger.

This initial treatment of the passion in *Furor* and *Phedon* seems the most important for the understanding of the manifestations of the passion in the character of Romeo as we see him in Act III, scene i, where he meets the "rude assault" of anger when he is yet, like Guyon, unprepared to meet it, and later when his reason is restored by the temperate counsel of the Friar, as *Phedon* is rescued by Guyon. But it is particularly in his treatment of *Phedon* that we see the disintegrating effects of the passion as they wrought themselves in the character of Romeo.

In Spenser's further allegorization of the passion of anger in *Pyrochles*, particularly in Canto v, we have another aspect of the vice, the man who is temperamentally irascible, that

threw forth sparkling fire,
 That seemed him to enflame on euery side, (2. 5. 2)

and who is to be related to the study of Tybalt, the choleric man, and not to Romeo.

Before undertaking to examine the Romeo and Juliet texts themselves, however, it seems important to point out in some detail that there was very probably in the Elizabethan mind a rather well established connection between the ever-increasing evils of the duello as an institution in English life²⁷ and the passions of wrath as the one which, more than any other, fostered its increase.

Saviolo His Practice, a book which was very widely known at the time Shakespeare wrote *Romeo and Juliet*,²⁸ indicates that one of the most frequent causes of frays was anger. In order to combat this evil, Saviolo counsels the exercise of wisdom and discretion:

First therefore it is to bee vnderstood, that the wisdome and discretion of a man, is as great a vertue as his magnanimitie and courage, which are so much the greater vertues, by how much they are accompanied with wisdome: for without them a man is not to be accounted valiant, but rather furious . . . ²⁹

He goes on to indicate at some length that numerous quarrels that had their origin in angry moments were successfully abated by his intervention, because injuries by word which were uttered in anger were matters upon which the injured party might accept "satisfaction."

It hath been saide before, that the foundation of satisfactions dooth consist in the truth, and to confirme the same, when a man hath against another any defect untruly, hee ought to confesse that the matter is not so as hee saide, and may alleadge in excuse of himselfe . . . that he spake it . . . in choller: . . . and if he say he spake it in choller, hee shall then say that he knoweth the truth to be other, that he is soarye for it . . . And if one man should give another the lye upon words of wrath, hee ought also to revoke it . . . and I will not omit, that seeking meanes to make quietnes in controversies, I have sometimes so handled a matter, as I have made agreement by such a way, that he which gave the lye, hath spoken with the other in this sorte: I would be glad to know of you with what minde you gave me hard words the other day, whereupon I gave you the lye, and I praye you resolve me heerin: and the other hath answered, to tell you the truth, I spake them in choller, and not upon any other occasion: and the first hath replied, since you have spoken these words in choller, I assure you that I meant not to have given you the lye . . . but rather I acknowledge you for a man of troth . . . and the other hath answered, and I do likewise iudge you a man of honor,

beseeking you also to account me your freend. And this form of satisfaction may bee applied to a thousand cases that happen daylye.³⁰

The stress thus placed upon anger as a frequent cause of combats finds a natural complement in the anti-duello literature:

Therefore, if you love credit, keepe your valour at a stand: suffer it not to stirre, untill it sue first for leave; to the Queene of Morall vertues, Prudence: so you shall be truely master of mettle, and not, your mettle master of you, that is not to be a man, but to be a slave of manhood, haled up and downe by mettlesome passions basely. These be harsh masters, when they tyrannize over you. The greatest skil of a swordman, is not to goe, but to stay to chuse an opportunitie, to wrench it from his enemies in spite of them; else you are angry, but as the moldy worpe, which with blinde furie biteth all it meets withall: if an offence cal on you and your anger rise, bid it lie down againe, and sleepe untill you awake it.³¹

The unidentified author of the work from which this passage is quoted shows a deep concernment for the diminution of the number of sudden and ill-advised quarrels which came to take such a devastating toll of England's best manhood, and in doing so manifests a commendable spirit of tolerance toward the evil spirit of the times:

Yet I doe not generally denounce an exile to all Duels, from all countreyes, from all occasions; sometimes they haue their lawfulness, the unadvised are insufferable, and such I desire to suppress: the too too much levity in falling into wrath, turneth the merit of courage into a meere shaddow, which ever followeth, but such as wander out of the light of reason, misled by strong passion: for certainly when the causes of quarrels are no bigger than little sands, they lye onely on the eye of such, as are overflowne with an Ocean of Anger.³²

He even discourses in the vein of the philosophers quoted above in order to mitigate the evils of sudden anger:

Discreet *Antenodorus* taught *Augustus Caesar*, that if in anger he were to act any thing, hee should first, for his prologue recite an Alphabet, and stay so much time before he did begin the Tragedie. If you be so furious, as that your blinde weapon must needs bee doing something; yet let a little time first passe, for Reason to rise and peepe in upon you . . . ³³

If we turn now from the technical and controversial literature on the duel to an English legal document of considerable importance, King James' famous *Edict* of 1613, we find the same concern about anger as the enemy to reason and peace:

Woe be to that kingdome, wherin priuate persons, vnstayed by youth, vntaught by negligence, vnweighed by libertie, may carue out of their owne proportions according to the rage of humorous affections that dazle them.³⁴

James here makes particular mention of youth among the most noteworthy offenders, and he stresses throughout the need to substitute "the law of Nature among men that are indued with reason" for weapons of anger!

Whereas Iustice looking rather to the first ground in her establishment of Lawes, that are truely said, *Suum cuique tribuere*, then to the passions of wrath, which are tyed to no dimension, hath taken a more safe and easie course, by debating and deciding iniuries.³⁵

He severely condemns those who would make themselves the

Judges absolute: and in a sort submit the reall grounds of Morall understanding, to the suddaine flashes of their own furie.³⁶

Nearly a half century after the composition of *Romeo and Juliet* the London stage still identified the passion of anger with the formalism and terminology of the Italianate duellist. Here Choler, personating one of the four humors, describes himself:

My name is Choler. I was begot by Fire on Nature's cook-maid, in the time of a festival. I was dry-nurs'd by a lean butterwife, and bred up in Mar's fencing-school; where I learn'd a mystery that consists in lying, distance and direction; pace, space and place; time, motion and action; progression, reversion and transversion; blows, thrusts, falses, doubles, slips and wards; closings, gripes and wrestlings! fights guardant, open, variable and close. Then have we our stoccata's, imbrocata's, mandrita's, punta's, and punta's reversa's; our stramison's, passata's, carricada's, amazza's and incartata's.³⁷

He seems to differ from Tybalt only in name.

Up to now, I have been attempting to recreate something like the climate of late sixteenth century ethical thinking about anger and endeavoring to relate that thinking to the social plague of duelling in England. The next step will consist in examining the text which, it is generally agreed, is Shakespeare's main source for the play. But as prelude to that undertaking I think it important to underscore what I think is an important fact, namely, that in the source, and in the source underlying the source, namely, Bandello, there is fighting only between bands of persons as such, and not between individuals as such. In other words there is nothing in either Brooke or Bandello of the nature of a "single combat" as that term was understood in England in the 1590's. This means that all the matter about "duelling" in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* constitutes an addition to his sources. The passion which he made central to his play, however, he found, as I now wish to show, already embedded in his source.

The text of Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet* abounds with explicit evidence that anger is there the central passion. The Argument³⁸ informs us that

Young Romeus climbs fair Juliet's bower by night.
Three months he doth enjoy his chief delight.
By Tybalt's rage provoked unto ire,
He payeth death to Tybalt for his hire. (11. 3-6.)

Beginning the tale itself, Brooke describes the state of affairs between the Capulets and the Montagues, emphasizing that the passion upon which the feud is erected is fury:

A wonted use it is, that men of likely sort,
(I wot not by what fury forced) envy each other's port.
So these, whose egall state bred envy pale of hue,
And then, of grudging envy's root, black hate and rancour grew.
As, of a little spark, oft riseth mighty fire,
So of a kindled spark of grudge, in flames flash out their ire:
And then their deadly food, first hatched of trifling strife,
Did bathe in blood of smarting wounds; it reaved breath and life,
No legend lie I tell, scarce yet their eyes be dry,
That did behold the grisly sight, with wet and weeping eye.
But when the prudent prince, who there the sceptre held,
So great a new disorder in his commonweal beheld;
By gentle mean he sought, their choler to assuage;
And by persuasion to appease, their blameful furious rage.
(11. 31-44.)

And thus the atmosphere in which Romeus is presented to us is charged with the passion. He is a handsome youth "upon whose tender chin, as yet, no manlike beard there grew" (1.54), who from "the chief of Verone youth . . . greatest fame did gain" (1. 56). Caught in the toils of a hopeless and unrequited love, he repines, and his pangs are detailed in the manner common to versifiers in the tradition of courtly love (11. 57-100). From this unhappy state he is rescued by the counsel of "the trustiest of his feres," one older than he (11. 101-2), who describes his condition as a "doting rage" (1. 105) which has plunged him "deep in vice," (1. 123) and he is admonished to "know and fly the error which too long thou livest in" (1. 128). Romeus accepts this counsel without protest. There follows the long account of his love affair with Juliet in which "he to the top of virtue's height did worthily aspire," (1. 546) and their subsequent marriage, until at length Brooke narrates the action underlying *Romeo and Juliet*, III, i. The words which motivate Romeus' slaying of Tybalt richly substantiate the view that Romeo likewise succumbs to anger:

As soon as Tybalt had our Romeus espied,
 He threw a thrust at him that would have passed from side to side;
 But Romeus ever went, doubting his foes, well armed,
 So that the sword, kept out by mail, hath nothing Romeus harmed.
 'Thou dost me wrong,' quoth he, 'for I but part the fray;
 Not dread, but other weighty cause my hasty hand doth stay.
 Thou are the chief of thine, the noblest eke thou art,
 Wherefore leave off thy malice now, and help those folk to part.
 Many are hurt, some slain, and some are like to die.'
 'No, coward, traitor boy,' quoth he, 'straightway I mind to try,
 Whether thy sugared talk, and tongue so smoothly filed,
 Against the force of this my sword shall serve thee for a shield
 And then at Romeus' head a blow he strake so hard,
 That might have clove him to the brain but for his cunning ward.
 It was but lent to him that could repay again,
 And give him death for interest, a well forborne gain.
 Right as a forest boar, that lodged in the thick,
 Pinched with dog, or else with speary-prickéd to the quick,
 His bristles stiff upright upon his back doth set,
 And in his foamy mouth his sharp and crooked tusks doth whet;
 Or as a lion wild that rampeth in his rage,
 His whelps bereft, whose fury can no weaker beast assuage;
 Such seeméd Romeus in every other's sight,
 When he him shope, of wrong received t' avenge himself by fight.

Even as two thunderbolts thrown down out of the sky,
That through the air, the massy earth, and seas, have power to fly;
So met these two, and while they change a blow or twain,
Our Romeus thrust him through the throat, and so is Tybalt slain.
(11. 1007-1034)

Thus Romeus, who would have persuaded Tybalt to "leave off" his "malice," at length abandons himself to the passion of a wild beast. When we pass on to the point at which Romeus, at Laurant's cell, hears the tidings of his doom, he acts the part of a wild and desperate man, striking the ground, beating his head against the walls, and begging for death, for, he protests, all that has happened has happened "without our guilt" (11. 1291-1306). He is unwilling, therefore, to accept what the powers above impose, and gives himself over to rage (1. 1314); he is deaf to advice (1. 1317), his voice is hoarse, and his tongue "falt'ring" (1. 1322); with a loud voice, he defies his stars (1. 1328), all accidents of time and place, the fatal sisters three, his nurse, his midwife, and Fortune (11. 1327-1346), i.e., he defies the established order of things, what Seneca and St. Thomas mean by Providence.

He blamed all the world, and all he did defy,
But Juliet for whom he lived, for whom eke would he die.
(11. 1347-8.)

Romeus is viewing the world out of perspective, "as furious as though" he were "in halfe a frenesye." His "reason blent through passion," his judgment is impaired.

When after raging fits appeaséd was his rage,
And when his passions, pouréd forth, 'gan partly to assuage,
So wisely did the friar unto his tale reply,
That he straight caréd for his life, that erst had care to die,
'Art thou,' quoth he, 'a man? Thy shape saith so thou art;
Thy crying, and thy weeping eyes denote a woman's heart.
For manly reason is quite from off thy mind outchased,
And in her stead affections lewd and fancies highly placed:
So that I stood in doubt, this hour, at the least,
If thou a man or woman wert, or else a brutish beast.
(11. 1349-1358.)

Thus, having rebuked Romeus' raging passion by linking it to

womanish weakness and brutish unreason, the friar launches upon a long persuasive to

Endeavor first by reason's help to master witless will (1. 1400),

and concludes by counselling Romeus to accept his present sorrow with patience and to do willingly what Providence enforces, for

Folly it is to fear that thou canst not avoid,
And madness to desire it much that cannot be enjoyed.
To give to Fortune place, not aye deserveth blame,
But skill it is, according to the times thyself to frame. (11. 1473-80.)

Once more, then, Romeus accepts the careful reasoning of a wise counsellor, and gives over his "doting rage."

Now is affection's veil removed from his eyes,
He seeth the path that he must walk, and reason makes him wise.
For very shame the blood doth flash in both his cheeks,
He thanks the father for his lore, and farther aid he seeks.
He saith, that skill-less youth for counsel is unfit,
And anger oft with hastiness are joined to want of wit . . .
(11. 1487-92.)

So the want of wit is a flaw of youthfulness and explains its susceptibility to anger and "sudden haste."

From this point the tale moves on its somewhat tedious way through the parting of the lovers and Romeus' journey into exile. Juliet, like Romeus, refuses to accept her lot and threatens to destroy herself unless he will consent to take her into exile with him (11. 1603-1616). He advises her to banish from her

mind two foes that counsel hath
That wont to hinder sound advice, rash hastiness and wrath,
(11. 1655-6.)

"to suffer for a while" (1. 1661) that they may at length in one way or another be reunited (11. 1662-1686). Apparently Brooke thought of the lovers as the thralls of a common passion, for once Romeus has accepted the "wisdom" of the friar, he goes at his command to Juliet "to salve her sorrow's smart," (1. 1509) and it is thus that he repeats the counsel which Laurence had tendered him.

Now Romeus makes his way safely to Mantua, but he is no sooner arrived than he falls to his old error of bewailing his misery and railing against heaven—against his stars, the fatal sisters, and Fortune. He remains inconsolable in his grief, and curses the sun and the hour when he was born. (11. 1729-1780.)

I now pass over the long bombastic accounts of Juliet's fate after Romeus' departure to come to those passages which correspond to *Romeo and Juliet*, Act V, Scenes i and iii. Here Brooke tells of the coming of Peter, Romeus' man, to Mantua with the news that he has seen Juliet placed in the tomb of the Capulets. To this he adds the subsequent events of the tale and concludes with the suicides of the lovers. But as I shall indicate later in some detail, there are significant differences between Shakespeare's Act V and those portions of Brooke's poem which underlie it. Since I believe that most of these differences can best be accounted for by the theory that Shakespeare was intent upon placing dramatic emphasis on the hero's central passion in the closing scenes of the play, I wish particularly to emphasize that in those portions of Brooke presently under discussion (11. 2526-3020) there is no reference to the passion of anger in Romeus, although Juliet, we are told, could not in her final moments assuage her sorrow or "abide her sickness' furious rage" (11. 2725-26). There is a somewhat ambiguous statement in Juliet's death speech which seems to include Romeus in the pair of lovers who were wrung by "wrath and death." (1. 2760). So Brooke concludes his tale.

Against this background of moral philosophy and of contemporary feeling as expressed in the technical literature on the duel, in the legal writings of the crown, in dramatic satire, in Spenserian allegory, and in the source which Shakespeare mainly drew upon, I shall now examine the text of *Romeo and Juliet*.

Romeo falls victim to the passion of anger, or as St. Thomas More calls it, "the mortall sinne of yre." Throughout the first part of the play, that is until approximately the middle of Act III, Scene i, he is depicted as a young man of excellent gifts, gentle (1. 4. 13), chaste (2. 6. 6-8), witty and sociable (2. 4. 70-99), one whom, by the admission of the great enemy of his house, Verona brags "to be a virtuous and well-governed youth" (1. 5. 70). If he has any fault, it is a certain one-sidedness of character, a habit of permitting himself to become completely absorbed in his passions for the other sex.

The melancholia which marks his passion for Rosaline is thus a perfect prologue to his complete surrender to his love for Juliet:

. . . wert thou as far
As that vast shore wash'd with the farthest sea,
I would adventure for such merchandise. (2. 2. 82-4)

That such apparently minor weaknesses, however, as Romeo's tendencies to indulge his affections were considered dangerous moral potentialities by the Elizabethans we can judge from the Palmer's final comment on Phedon's sad tale:

. . . Most wretched man,
That to affections does the bridle lend;
In their beginning they are weak and wan,
But soon through suff'rance grow to fearefull end;
Whiles they are weak betimes with them contend:
For when they once to perfect strength do grow,
Strong warres they make, and cruell battry bend
Gainst fort of Reason, it to ouerthrow:
Wrath, gelosie, grieve, loue this Squire haue layd thus low.
Canto iv, st. xxxiv

One may detect hints in the structure and in the lines of that scene in which we first meet Friar Lawrence (2.3.) of minor flaws in Romeo's nature, any one of which seems capable of developing into a major defect. The manner in which the Friar is introduced suggests that we fix a careful and probing eye on Romeo. When the Friar first appears, he is on his way to gather "baleful weeds and precious-juiced flowers." Soon his reflections center upon the diversity of the things which the earth produces and upon the thought that though they differ very much among themselves in their natural qualities, they are alike in that they all have potentialities for both good and evil, depending upon how man uses them. This he illustrates by reference to the flower he holds in his hand:

Within the infant rind of this small flower
Poison hath residence, and medicine power;
For this, being smelt, with that part cheers each part;
Being tasted, slays all senses with the heart.
Two such opposed kings encamp them still
In man as well as herbs—grace and rude will;
And where the worser is predominant,
Full soon the canker death eats up that plant.
(2. 3. 23-30)

The flower promotes man's well-being if he smells it, but kills him if he tastes it. Such a twofold power he finds in man—grace and rude will,—*i.e.*, the acceptance of heavenly grace or insolent and wilful disobedience of God's law, what Brooke calls "witless will," (1. 1400) which later merits man eternal death.

If it is not merely out of a wish to characterize the Friar as a philosopher at the moment he is introduced that Shakespeare places this passage at this particular point in his dramatic structure, but also out of a purpose to ask us to scrutinize the hero with this norm for the judgment of human conduct in mind, then we are justified in finding the seeds of passion in certain weaknesses of character which the scene reveals. First, in the sudden and complete transference of his affections from Rosaline to Juliet, the Friar, whether jestingly or not, detects a weakness which he believes to be womanish:

Women may fall when there's no strength in men (1. 80)

Secondly, the friar reveals he rebuked Romeo earlier for "doting" (1. 82) on Rosaline, *i.e.*, he is possessed, as I have already suggested, of that one-sidedness which Bradley regarded as "the fundamental tragic trait" of the Shakespearean hero.³⁹

Despite the fact, however, that Romeo seems somewhat inclined to indulge his affections, he is not, like Tybalt, a choleric man by nature (1. 5. 91-2) and is not prone to irascibility. There is no indication of it in the first part of the play. On the contrary he wishes to hold himself aloof from the quarrels of the two houses, deploring the blood-letting of the opening scene as one who feels "no love in this" (1. 1. 189), and offering to doff his name and be "new baptiz'd" (2. 2. 50). But the Romeo of the climax scene is no longer blameless, for he yields to the temptation of fury, the passion of the duello, and though in yielding he was but reenacting one of a "thousand cases that happen daylye," he was none the less transformed before the eyes of that audience into a beast, like Romeus,

. . . a lion wild that rampeth in his rage,
His whelps bereft, whose fury can no weaker beast assuage.
(Brooke, 11. 1027-8).

Before he falls into this passion, however, Romeo resists with an almost superhuman power the temptation to do so; and in order to

underscore this fact properly it is necessary to point out, on the one hand, that Romeo, because of certain weaknesses, was peculiarly vulnerable to the assaults of wrath, and that, on the other hand, the nice complication of the dramatic situation from the viewpoint of contemporary social ethics was so compelling that no other course seemed humanly possible.

First, then, we are not altogether unprepared for his yielding, since, from the very first, Romeo is hasty and precipitate (see 2. 2. 116-20 and 2. 3. 193-4). Moreover, the whole action covered in 1. 5., when Romeo and Juliet meet for the first time, until they are wedded at the end of 2. 2. occupies little more than half a day, so that the dizzying acceleration of movement thus achieved is radiated in an impression of heady impetuosity in both Romeo and Juliet. To such a trait of violent hastiness, Shakespeare joined in Romeo a weakness of nature which sprang merely from the fact that he was extremely young, and therefore "unstayed," as King James put it; and thus he would have provided a likely subject for the anxious concerns of sixteenth century moral philosophers as he faced the temptations of anger, for he would scarcely be inclined to "say over the Alphabet" before acting ("And to't they go like lightning," 3. 1. 177), or to encounter his passion with anything which approached the philosophic deliberation of a Stoic:

As they that expect a siege, doe gather vp their money, and prouide victuals, and prepare all things that are necessarie against the enemies comming: so against the insultings of wrath & anger the minde is to be furnished with the precepts of philosophie. *Ibidem.* [*i. e.*, Plutarch's *Moralia*.]⁴⁰

But to pass on to the matter of the dramatic situation, Act Three, Scene One presents a tense and highly pitched action which Shakespeare fits into a social structure which constitutes one of his chief additions to his sources. This social structure is a lively tissue of the influence of the Italian duello of late sixteenth century London life, and the impact of Renaissance thought about friendship upon the conventional relations between man and man, and man and woman; and one is tempted to add even a third point: the season and the atmosphere. And all of these things are Shakespeare's; they are not in Brooke.

I shall illustrate the third point first and then pass on to the other two. In creating a suitable atmosphere in which to place the tale he

took from Brooke, Shakespeare enveloped it in summertime. This was, of course, the most obvious way of giving the love story the natural warmth of setting which was required for its languid movement of lingering embraces and which alone could harmonize with the songs of nightingales and the heavy odors of gardens. But the atmosphere of *Romeo and Juliet* is not merely warm. It is torrid. Timing the play almost exactly at mid-July by Lady Capulet's statement that it is a fortnight and odd days until Lammas-tide (1. 3. 15), Shakespeare thus underscores by reference to contemporary psychology the danger of the increase of choler at this particular season:

And this month [July] is most feruent: for in the middle of this month the sunne beginneth to be in Leone, & the Canicular daies begin. And therefore is great passing heate in that time, because of the hot signe, and also because of the most hot starre. Also y time all hot passions & euills increase . . . ⁴¹

The dangers of that aspect of Romeo's circumstances in the crisis scene are sounded at the outset:

Ben. I pray thee, good Mercutio, let's retire.
The day is hot, the Capulets abroad
And if we meet, we shall not scape a brawl,
For now, these hot days, is the mad blood stirring. (3. 1. 1-4)

But as that audience was well aware and as Bullein makes clear in the passage quoted above, "let our Enemy sodaynely appeare before us," and we need no fire to kindle our choler in cold weather. But in hot weather, "heate aboue nature" quickly incloses the heart.

To return to the first point, the characters in this scene are instinct with the breath of Saviolo's fencing school and the very air charged with his punctilio. The senseless, petty occasions of quarrels are detailed and exemplified in Mercutio's encounter with Tybalt—and then comes Romeo from church, but newly wived. He meets Tybalt's insulting "villain" (1. 64) with patient forbearance and complete self-mastery (11. 65-75), but after Mercutio takes up his quarrel and is killed by Tybalt new considerations enter into his thoughts—that the high motives of friendship, which the man of the Renaissance held so dear,⁴² compelled new persuasions: "my very friend, hath got this mortal hurt in my behalf." (3. 1. 115-6). This was a stronger motive, the motive of revenge for a friend, than the

motive of love for Juliet. Mark, for example, the comparative values in this passage from *The Merchant of Venice*:

Bass. Antonio, I am married to a wife
Which is as dear to me as life itself;
But life itself, my wife, and all the world
Are not with me esteem'd above thy life.
I would lose all, ay, sacrifice them
Here to this devil, to deliver you. (4. 1. 282-287).

Joined with the desire which at first compelled him to maintain his "reputation" and with a certain feeling of shame because his great love has made him seem, in this "man's world," an effeminate creature, it is enough to persuade him to abandon his patience recklessly and to submit himself to passion at that moment which may properly be regarded as the crisis of the drama:

Away to heaven respective lenity,
And fire-ey'd fury be my conduct now. (11. 128-9)

And so with deliberate intent he casts reason aside and, as passion rules, kills Tybalt. A passage from King James highlights the moment vividly:

It lies not in the wit or prouidence of any mortall man, beforehand assure himselfe of such a perfect patience, as may prepare the mind to meditate vpon the best meanes of release from eternall death, while his enemy is in his eye, the woundes bleed freshly, shame blinds the iudgement, choller preuails against aduice, and the voice of nature her selfe is more apt to call for reuenge, then to teach humilitie.⁴³

Romeo yielded, therefore, to a passion alien to his nature upon the sudden assault of the most trying circumstances.

Once touched by the passion, however, the "ulcerate" condition of soul,⁴⁴ which led Spenser's Phedon to pass on from one crime to another, settles upon the character of Romeo and a slow disintegration sets in. When next we see him (3. 2.) he is pathetically dominated by its influence. His whole soul and being are entirely identified with his love of Juliet, so that he rebels in a spirit of contumacy against the "loss" of Juliet⁴⁵ implicit in his Prince's sentence of banishment. The greater part of the scene is a dramatization of such a work as More's *Dyalogue of Comforte*, with Laurence in the role of philo-

sopher giving a practical demonstration of how to allay passion and to reinstall reason upon its throne. Of course, the Friar's "wisdom" is based upon purely worldly consideration, *e.g.*, the fact that in killing Tybalt, Romeo rid himself of his mortal enemy (11. 137-8), and in that respect differs totally from More's purely Christian considerations; but the method is the same in each: by reason to win acceptance for and find consolation in a present sorrow.

At the outset, when the Friar informs Romeo of his lot, he counsels him to be patient (11. 16-17), but Romeo ungratefully refuses to accept the kindness of the Prince, an act which the Friar very positively condemns:

O deadly sin! O rude unthankfulness! (1. 24)

For the Elizabethans regarded ingratitude as the most horrible of all evils, because it was unnatural, irrational, and beastly and therefore particularly unbecoming to a nobleman.⁴⁰

Since Romeo persists in his unreason, the Friar calls him a "fond mad man" (1. 52) and offers to comfort him with "adversity's sweet milk, philosophy," (11. 55-6), but Romeo will have none of it, he will neither see nor hear (11. 28 and 61), places his affections before his reason, falls into a doting rage, for which the Friar had once before rebuked him (2. 3. 82), tears his hair, and falls upon the ground. Even the Nurse upbraids him for his unmanly conduct (1. 88). In desperation he attempts to commit suicide, but the Friar rebukes him vehemently:

Hold thy desperate hand.
Art thou a man? Thy form cries out thou art:
Thy tears are womanish, thy wild acts denote
The unreasonable fury of a beast.
Unseemly woman in a seeming man!
Or ill-beseeming beast in seeming both!
Thou hast amaz'd me. By my holy order,
I thought thy disposition better temper'd. (11. 108-115)

As we have seen, the commonplaces of Renaissance treatments of anger included the idea that it was a womanish vice. The passage under consideration may be taken to mean that Romeo is an effeminate character but such a view cannot be reconciled with the facts in the case, *e.g.*, with Romeo's obviously ample courage as revealed in

his duels with Tybalt and Paris or with his contempt for danger when he enters the enemy's stronghold (2. 2. 62-73). The charge of womanishness can only be explained as a dramatic way of depicting the passion. It should be noted that Friar Laurence is amazed and evidently disappointed at Romeo's conduct and rebukes him for not accepting the will of heaven. When the Friar concludes, the Nurse exclaims, "O, what learning is!" (1. 160) and Romeo, reclaimed from his fall, comments gratefully,

How well my comfort is reviv'd by this (1. 165)

Romeo takes his last farewell of Juliet in 3. 5. and we see him no more until 5. 1. When he enters at the latter point he is elated with bright thoughts and the effects of pleasant dreams—and suddenly, news from Verona. He listens in stony silence. "Then I defy you stars!" (1. 24).⁴⁷ And he is, as he was before, a furious man, defiant of heaven and desperate. Determining upon his course in a split second, he will be gone toward Verona. Balthazar is frightened by his looks and begs him to have patience, but does not seem at all to deter him from purchasing the poison. We see him next in the final scene. He gives instructions to Balthazar and concludes:

Therefore hence, be gone.
But if thou, jealous, dost return to pry
In what I farther shall intend to do,
By heaven, I will tear thee joint by joint
And strew this hungry church yard with thy limbs.
The time and my intents are savage-wild,
More fierce and more inexorable far
Than empty tigers or the roaring sea. (11. 32-39)

That is indeed the fury that is "a way to madness," the mood in which Ecelinus "rent his skin from his owne flesh," and "roared like a mad beast." and again Balthazar testifies that Romeo's looks are cause of much anxiety (1. 44). Romeo forces open the tomb, and Paris, who had hidden close by at Romeo's coming, now moves forward to arrest him. Paris is a kinsman of the Prince, we may suppose, since Mercutio is "the Prince's near ally" (3. 1. 114) and Paris is described as "Mercutio's kinsman" (5. 3. 75). Hence, despite his youth, he speaks with authority and would apprehend Romeo as a "condemned villain" who by returning from banishment has forfeited even the right to life (11. 49-57). But Romeo will not submit. Grown suddenly old, he pleads with Paris:

Good gentle youth, tempt not a desp'rate man;

 Put not another sin upon my head
 By urging me to fury. O be gone

 Live and hereafter say
 A madman's mercy bid thee run away. (11. 59-67.)

But Paris persists in his effort to place him under arrest as a felon, whereupon Romeo draws:

Wilt thou provoke me? Then have at thee, boy! (1. 70.)

In the ensuing fight he kills Paris and having delivered himself of his final thoughts, kills himself.

It seems worthwhile to point out, as I have indicated above, the significance of the changes which Shakespeare wrought in his sources here. As in 3. 1., the changes are all calculated to complicate the action. The chief change is, of course, the introduction of Paris at this point, who has come to do honor to Juliet. As soon as Paris recognizes Romeo, he assumes the right to act in the Prince's name and to arrest Romeo. This provides the occasion upon which, like Phedon, Romeo kills his rival and it heightens his own desperate emotion at the moment of self-slaughter. It also, of course, has the effect of focussing attention at an important dramatic moment upon the decisive characteristics of the tragic hero.⁴⁸

To recapitulate, the conception of the tragic hero is that of an essentially noble and highly promising youth who is regarded by his contemporaries as a person of virtue and substantial qualities. He is the respected companion of the restrained and prudent Benvolio and the admired intimate and friend of "the Prince's near ally," Mercutio. Extremely young, he is presented in the light of Renaissance views of youth. He is susceptible to love-melancholia; he is bold, hasty, and impetuous; and he is inclined to over-indulge his affections:

The sins of youth are temerity, indiscreet forwardnesse, [i.e. hastiness] and unbridled liberty and ouergreedy desire of pleasure, which are naturall things proceeding from the heat of the bloud and naturall vigor, and therefore the more excusable . . . ⁴⁹

It must not be thought, then, that Romeo's youthful weaknesses are incompatible with an idea of tragic greatness in his character. On the other hand, as a man, Romeo reveals noble and superior instincts. There is admirable decency and chaste intention in every phase of his relations with Juliet. His weakness lies only in that he has not yet attained to that philosophical richness of mind which Hamlet has reached when he meets the great crisis in his life. And although he opposes it with all the resolution of which youth is capable, that is not enough. His youth renders him peculiarly vulnerable to the temptations of the moment and the atmosphere of evil contention and furious choler which pervades the play from first to last (the play begins with a pun on the word choler, 1. 1. 1-6) engulfs him completely.⁵⁰

Once he succumbs, all the terrible effects of the vice as described by the moral philosophers and as illustrated in the allegory of Spenser begin to manifest themselves. The grief which ensues upon his yielding to anger, his banishment and loss of his beloved, begets a contumacious opposition to the will of heaven from which he is recured by the timely "comfort" of Friar Laurence. When, however, the false news is brought to him at Mantua of the death of Juliet, he again defies heaven, settles immediately upon a desperate course and purchases the poison with which he intends to destroy himself. Having arrived at the Capulet tomb in a mood of wild savagery he encounters and murders Paris and ends his own earthly misery.

These detailed considerations of the ethical, social, and literary provenance of *Romeo and Juliet* strongly support an interpretation of the play as one in which the hero perishes because of a tragic flaw or weakness in his character. This conception of the play would draw it out of the category of purely fatalistic tragedy in which the hero is blameless and hence without responsibility for his own death, a category into which a large number of reputable modern critics have thrust it, and accommodate it to the Bradleian view that Romeo is in fact the author, at least in part, of his own fate, and that *Romeo and Juliet* differs not in kind, but only in degree from the tragedies of Shakespeare's maturity.

This is not to say that other aspects of the play are unimportant. All the elements which critics have observed are present in great force: Fortune, Fate, the accidents of birth, time, and place score heavily and seem almost to nullify the force of the human ego and

to dwarf the significance of the freedom of the human will. This is not, of course, a philosophical eccentricity of *Romeo and Juliet*. It is a view emphasized also in what are called the Great Tragedies. The presence in the text of *Romeo and Juliet*, however, of the mortal surrender of the hero to a tragic passion must not be overlooked.

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¹William Allan Neilson and Charles Jarvis Hill, edd., *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* (Houghton Mifflin Co.: New York, 1942) p. 975.

²(Thomas Y. Crowell Co.: New York, 1925) pp. 170-1.

³Thomas Marc Parrott, *Shakespeare: Twenty-three Plays and the Sonnets*, (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1938) pp. 166-7.

⁴Sir Edmund K. Chambers, *Shakespeare: A Survey*, (London, 1929) pp. 70-71.

⁵Hazelton Spencer, *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare*, (Harcourt, Brace and Company: New York, 1940) pp. 220-21.

⁶F. S. Boas, *Shakespeare and his Predecessors*, (New York, 1896), p. 214.

⁷Other significant treatments of the play from this point of view will be found in H. B. Charlton, *'Romeo and Juliet' as an Experimental Tragedy*, (London, 1940); Morton Luce, *Handbook to Shakespeare's Works* (London, 1906), p. 424; and Theodore Spencer, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* (New York, 1942), pp. 90-92.

⁸Hardin Craig, "The Shackling of Accidents," *Philological Quarterly*, XIX, 12-13.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, (London, 1905: second ed. reprinted 1941), pp. 21-22.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹²Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes Slaves of Passion*, (Cambridge University Press, 1930), Section III, Mirrors of Passion, pp. 107-239. Lear's passion is further carefully anatomized by J. W. Ashton, "The Wrath of King Lear," *Journal of English and German Philology*, XXXI (1932), 530-536.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 176-7. It should be added that Miss Campbell herself uses the terms *rage* and *fury* (p. 182) as if they were not synonyms for *anger* or *wrath*. But see these two terms in *NED*. Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet* employs the terms *rage* (1. 1. 91), *choler* (1. 5. 91), and *fury* (3. 1. 129). These and all subsequent references to *Romeo and Juliet* are to the text of George Lyman Kittredge, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, (Ginn and Co.: New York, 1936).

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 182. The opposition between anger and patience is a commonplace of Renaissance thinking. "As water quencheth fire: so patience extinguisheth anger." Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, with an introduction by Don Cameron Allen, (*Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints*, New York, 1938), Sig. 04.

¹⁵Sir Thomas More, *A Dialogue of Comforte agaynste Tribulacyon*, Bk. I, Ch. vi Bound with the *Utopia* in the Everyman's Library, ed. Ernest Rhys, p. 138. Miss Campbell cites this passage but only in order to relate it to *Hamlet* (*op. cit.*, pp. 114-5).

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹⁷J. J. Munro, ed., *Brooke's 'Romeus and Juliet'*, (Duffield & Co.: New York, 1908), 1. 1306.

¹⁸Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The French Academie*, trans. into English by T. B., third edition, London, 1594, pp. 308-9, as quoted by Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

¹⁹Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The French Academie*, trans. into English by T.B., second edition, London, 1589, Sig. XI.

²⁰William Bullein, *Bulleins Bulwarke of Defense against all Sicknesses*, (London, 1579), Sig. ddd6v—Sig. eeei.

²¹*Op. cit.*, Sig. Xlv—X2.

²²See the lengthy passage quoted from La Primaudaye by Miss Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-180.

²²Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Governour*, Everyman's Library, ed. Ernest Rhys, (New York, 1907), pp. 136-7.

²⁴Peter Charron, *Of Wisdome*, trans. Samson Lennard, London, 1630, Sig. G5v—G6v.

²⁷The best comprehensive treatment to be found is in Egerton Castle, *Schools and Masters of Fence*, London, 1893. See especially the Introduction and Chapters I and V. The last, entitled "Elizabethan Fencing," supplies a very deepening background for *Romeo and Juliet*. See also G. Silver, *Paradoxes of Defence* (1599) with an introduction by J. Dover Wilson, London, 1933, and the chapter entitled "The Background of Revenge," in Fredson T. Bowers, *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy*, Princeton University Press, 1940. There seems to be no complete and adequate study of the subject.

²⁸Furness, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121.

²⁹Vincenzio Saviolo, *Saviolo His Practice*, Sig. Bb.

³⁰*Ibid.*, Sig. Ii3-Ii4.

³¹G. F., *Duell-Ease: A Word With Valiant Spirits Shewing the Abuse of Duells*, London, 1635, Sig. G2v.

³²*Ibid.*, Sig. Clv.

³³*Ibid.*, Sig. Nl.

³⁴James I, *A Publication of His Maties Edict, and Severe Censure against Private Combats and Combatants*, London, 1613, Sig. E2.

³⁵*Ibid.*, Sig. A4-A4v.

³⁶*Ibid.*, Sig. B.

³⁷Thomas Nabbes, *Microcosmus: A Moral Mask*, in *A Select Collection of Old Plays*, ed. R. Dodsley, London, 1744, V, 326.

³⁸Brooke, *op. cit.*, opposite p. lxxviii.

³⁹*Op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁴⁰Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* with an introduction by Don Cameron Allen, (*Schools' Facsimiles and Reprints*, New York, 1938), Sig. Mm6v.

⁴¹Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *Batman vppon Bartholome*, tr. Stephen Batman, London, East, 1582, Sig. Ccii^v.

⁴²Laurens J. Mills, *One Soul in Bodies Twain, Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama*, (Bloomington, Indiana: The Principia Press, 1937). See especially p. 276. See also pp. 71-75 *et passim*.

⁴³*Op. cit.* Sig. B4v.

⁴⁴See the passage from Plutarch, *Of Meeknes, or How a Man should Refrain Choler*, as quoted by Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-9.

⁴⁵See the quotation from More, p. 6 above.

⁴⁶E. Catherine Dunn, *The Concept of Ingratitude in Renaissance English Moral Philosophy*, (Washington, 1946) pp. 3-22 and 88-89.

⁴⁷This opposition to Providence seems to have been transferred from an earlier passage in Brooke (11. 1750-54) indicated above which otherwise has no counterpart in *Romeo and Juliet*.

⁴⁸It may be noted that Shakespeare's heroine differs from Brooke's chiefly in the fact that she is, as far as any explicit reference in the text is concerned, completely untouched by the passion of Romeo.

⁴⁹Charron, *op. cit.*, Sig. 15v.

⁵⁰Romeo's "indiscreet forwardnesse" at this critical juncture illustrates the Elizabethan notion that precipitate action springing from anger is the characteristic trait of youth: . . . he must aboue all things auoid precipitation, an enemy to wisdom, the step-mother of all good actions, a vice much to be feared in young and youthfull people . . . It proceedeth commonly from that passion which carieth vs; *Nam qui cupit, festinat: qui festinat: evertit: unde festinatio improvida & caeca: duo aduersissima rectae menti celeritas & ira: For who so desires, doth hasten; who hasteth, destroyeth: hastiness therefore is improvident and blinde: hastinesse and anger are two of the greatest aduersaries to a discreet minde: and often enough from insufficiency.* Charron, *op. cit.* Sig. Z4- Z4v. See Brooke, 11. 1655-6 quoted above.

AN OUTLINE OF SHAKSPERE'S ENGLISH HISTORY PLAYS

BY KARL J. HOLZKNECHT

THE philosophy of history and politics which animates Shakspeare's plays on the English past has been frequently described and is by now at least a twice told tale.¹ His use of historical sources has also been thoroughly investigated, and his debt to contemporary historians acknowledged.² But, though the shaping hand and mind of the dramatist have been followed in detail, no attempt has been made to present in brief what Shakspeare selected, how he arranged his materials, or what he found it necessary to invent to make history suitable for the stage. It is the purpose of this paper to present clearly, but without interpretation, an outline of what Shakspeare treated in his history plays. The order of events is that of the dramas themselves, and it is not always the order of history.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING JOHN

Dates of the Reign: 1199-1216.

Period Covered by the Play: Summer, 1199-October, 1216.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: ENGLISH NATIONALISM VS. ENTANGLING FOREIGN ALLIANCES.

- (I) Embassy of Chatillon from Philip of France (unhistorical); claim of Arthur Plantagenet through Philip of France to the throne not only of Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine (historical), but also of England and Ireland (unhistorical); quarrel between the Faulconbridge brothers over their inheritance (unhistorical, but developed from similar stories of Morgan of Beverly, brother of King John [told by Stow] and of Jean du Dunois, son of Lewis, duke of Orleans in the 15th century [told by Hall]).
- (II) John's compromise with Philip of France; betrothal of Blanche of Castile to Lewis the Dauphin (1200).
- (III) Embassy of Pandulph from Innocent III (1211); John's defiance of the Papacy over the appointment of Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury (1207-11); excommunication and deposition of

John by papal decree (1212); war between England and France (1202, 1212); death of Limoges at the hands of Philip, bastard son of Richard Coeur de Lion (1199); capture of Arthur (1202); claim to the English throne by Lewis the Dauphin through Blanche of Castile (1216).

- (IV) Purposed blinding of Arthur (1202); second coronation of John (1202); rumored death of Arthur (1202); invasion of Kent by the French (1216); death of Queen Elinor (1204); prophecy of Peter of Pomfret (1212); appearance of five moons (1200); death of Arthur (1203); defection of the barons (1213).
- (V) John's submission to the pope, resignation of the crown and its return as a papal fief, fulfillment of the prophecy of Peter of Pomfret (1213); homage of the English barons to the Dauphin (1213-16); withdrawal of the papal support to the French claim (1216); battle with the French (1217); exposure of French treachery by Melune; death of King John; return of the English barons (1216). [There is no mention of Runnymede and Magna Carta (1215)].

THE TRAGEDY OF KING RICHARD THE SECOND

Dates of the Reign: 1377-1399.

Period Covered by the Play: April, 1398-February, 1400.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: THE LANCASTRIAN REVOLUTION OF 1399.

- (I) Accusations of embezzlement, the treasons of the past eighteen years, and responsibility for the death of Thomas of Woodstock made by Henry of Bolingbroke against Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk (1398); their meeting in the lists at Coventry, banishment of both (1398); farming out of the realm by Richard to William Scroop, Earl of Wiltshire and Lord Treasurer, Sir John Bushy, Sir William Bagot, and Sir William Green, and issue of blank charters as sources of revenue (1398).
- (II) Death of John of Gaunt (1399); rebellion in Ireland; confiscation of Henry of Bolingbroke's inheritance; appointment of the Duke of York as Lord Governor during King Richard's absence in Ireland; defection of the barons by Richard's misrule; return of Henry of Bolingbroke; resignation of the Earl of Worcester as Lord High Steward; flight of the king's favorites: Wiltshire, Bushy, Bagot, and Green; Bolingbroke's

oath that he returned only to claim his inheritance; meeting of York and Bolingbroke; rumors of Richard's death; disbanding of the Welsh troops (1399).

- (III) Capture and execution of Wiltshire, Bushy, and Green (1399); return of Richard; meeting with Bolingbroke at Flint Castle (1399); the queen's reception of news of Richard's troubles (unhistorical).
- (IV) Accusation by Bagot, Fitzwater, and others of the complicity of Aumerle in Woodstock's death; death at Venice of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; denunciations of Bolingbroke's acts by the Bishop of Carlisle (antedated by about a month; Carlisle's prophecy of civil war is unhistorical); abdication of King Richard and his imprisonment in the Tower; plot of the Abbot of Westminster and others against Bolingbroke (the Oxford Plot) (1399).
- (V) Parting of Richard and his queen (unhistorical); prophecy of Richard concerning the Percy rebellion (unhistorical); imprisonment of Richard in Pomfret Castle (1399); Bolingbroke's reception by the Londoners (1399); Aumerle's complicity in the Oxford Plot (1400); murder of King Richard by Pierce of Exton (1400).

THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY THE FOURTH

Dates of the Reign: 1399-1413.

Period Covered by the Play: September, 1402-July, 1403.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: CIVIL WAR: THE PERCY REBELLION.

(Except for the legend of the wild youth of Prince Hal, the Falstaff scenes of both 1 and 2 *Henry IV* are wholly unhistorical.)

- (I) Rising in Wales; capture of Edmund Mortimer by Owen Glendower and marriage of Mortimer with Glendower's daughter (1402); defeat of the Scots at Holmedon (1402); King Henry's demand of the Scottish prisoners and refusal to ransom Mortimer; defection of Northumberland, Hotspur, and Worcester (1402).
- (II) Harry Hotspur's disregard of a temporizing letter (unhistorical).
- (III) Meeting of the conspirators at Bangor to divide the kingdom (1405, after Hotspur's death, but reported by Holinshed under 1403); lack

of success of King Henry's expedition against the Welsh (1402); reproach of Prince Hal by King Henry for his ignoble life, and reconciliation between father and son (1412); preparation for civil war (1403).

- (IV) Mobilization of the rebel forces at Shrewsbury, illness of Northumberland (1403); King Henry's offer of pardon to the Percys (1403).
- (V) Deception of Hotspur by the double dealing of Worcester; battle of Shrewsbury; death of Henry Hotspur (but by hands unknown); capture and execution of Worcester and Vernon; capture and release of Douglas (1403).

THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY THE FOURTH

Dates of the Reign: 1399-1413.

Period Covered by the Play: July, 1403-April, 1413.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: CIVIL WAR: COMPLETE SUPPRESSION OF FACTION.

- (I) Rumors and news of Shrewsbury (1403); rebellion of Archbishop Scroop of York (1405).
- (II) Flight of Northumberland to Scotland (1405).
- (III) Death of Owen Glendower (1409, according to Holinshed).
- (IV) Meeting of the rival forces at Shipton Moor in Gaultree Forest; politic dealing of Westmorland; arrest and execution of Archbishop Scroop, Mowbray, and Hastings (1405); illness of King Henry (1412); defeat and death of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph (1408); episode of the crown (1413); death of King Henry IV (1413).
- (V) Accession of King Henry V; dismissal of his unworthy associates; coronation of Henry V (1413).

THE LIFE OF KING HENRY THE FIFTH

Dates of the Reign: 1413-1422.

Period Covered by the Play: Spring, 1414-May, 1420,

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: CONQUEST OF FRANCE.

- (I) Parliament bill for disendowing the church (1414); claim of Henry, encouraged by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the French throne; embassy from France, insult of the tennis balls (1414).
- (II) Preparation for war (1415); treason of Cambridge, Scroop, and Grey, and their execution (1415); embassy of Exeter from King Henry to the French (1415).
- (III) Siege and surrender of Harfleur (1415); French council of war (1415); Henry's just and charitable conduct of the war, episode of the theft of a pyx by a soldier [Bardolph]; defiance of the French; their over-confidence and play at dice for the English prisoners and spoil (1415).
- (IV) Sobriety of the English and the sickness and hardship they endured; suggestion by the French that Henry agree upon a ransom; its refusal; battle of Agincourt; rally of the French, plunder of the English camp by the French prisoners, and the order for their execution; victory of the English; return of Henry to Calais (1415).
- (V) Treaty of Troyes; betrothal of King Henry and Katherine of Valois; Henry named heir of France (1420).

THE FIRST PART OF HENRY THE SIXTH

Dates of the Reign: 1422-1461; 1470-1471.

Period Covered by the Play: November, 1422-July, 1453.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: ENGLAND'S LOSS OF FRANCE AND GROWTH OF CIVIL FACTIONS.

- (I) Funeral of King Henry V (1422); revolt of the French (1422); loss of Guienne (1451), Champagne (1429), Rheims (1429), Orleans (fictitious, not in English possession in Henry V's time), Paris (1436), Gisors (1449), Poitiers (fictitious, not in English possession), Rouen (1449); coronation of Charles VII at Rheims (1429, but proclaimed at Poitiers, 1422); capture of Talbot (1429); cowardice of Sir John Fastolfe (1429); Winchester's intention to kidnap the young king from Eltham (charged, 1426); siege of Orleans (1428-9); meeting of Charles VII and Joan of Arc (1429); dissension be-

tween Humphrey of Gloucester and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester (1425); ransom of Talbot (1433; according to Holinshed, 1431); death of Salisbury and Gargrave at Orleans (1428), in the presence of Talbot (unhistorical); relief of Orleans by Joan of Arc and Charles (1429).

- (II) Recapture of Orleans by Talbot (fictitious, but based upon the account of the recapture of Le Mans, 1428); burial of Salisbury (1428); interview of Talbot and the Countess of Auvergne (fictitious); dissension between Richard Plantagenet and the Earl of Somerset, the plucking of red roses and white in the Temple Gardens (unhistorical); meeting of Edmund Mortimer and Richard Plantagenet (unhistorical); death of Mortimer, Plantagenet his heir (1425).
- (III) Renewed dissension between Gloucester and Winchester, their outward reconciliation (1426); Richard Plantagenet created duke of York (1426); proposed coronation of Henry VI in France (1431); loss and recovery of Rouen (unhistorical); cowardice of Sir John Fastolfe (repeated); death of Bedford, regent of France (1435); Burgundy's desertion of his English allies (1435) at Joan of Arc's persuasion (unhistorical); Talbot created Earl of Shrewsbury (1442).
- (IV) Coronation of King Henry VI at Paris (1431); Fastolfe deprived of the Garter (1429), by Talbot (historically by Bedford); strife between the factions of the roses; York regent of France, Somerset military commander (1443?); imbroglio between York and Somerset over relief of Talbot (unhistorical); siege of Bordeaux, death of Talbot and his son (1453).
- (V) Overtures of peace between England and France (1435); betrothal of Henry VI to the daughter of the Count of Armagnac (1442); loss of Paris (1436); capture and execution of Joan of Arc (1430-31); truce between the English and the French (1444); arrangement by Suffolk of a marriage between Margaret of Anjou and Henry VI (1444), Humphrey of Gloucester opposed, (the infatuation of Suffolk with Margaret is unhistorical).

THE SECOND PART OF HENRY THE SIXTH

Dates of the Reign: 1422-1461; 1470-1471.

Period Covered by the Play: May, 1445-May, 1455.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: GROWTH OF CIVIL FACTIONS BEGINNING OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

- (I) Arrival of Margaret, England's "dear bought" queen (1445); continued rivalry of Gloucester and Winchester; impatience of Queen Margaret at King Henry's submissiveness to Gloucester; conspiracy against Humphrey of Gloucester (1446-7); impeachment of an armor-er [Thomas Horner] by his servant [Peter Thump] (1446); love of Queen Margaret for Suffolk (unhistorical); appointment of Somerset regent in France, replacing York (1446); arrest of Eleanor Cobham, duchess of Gloucester, on charges of sorcery (1441).
- (II) Sham miracle at St. Albans [from Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue . . . of Images and Reliques*, 1530]; support of York's claim by the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury (1447-8?); sentence of Eleanor Cobham (1441); dismissal of Gloucester as Protector (1446); judicial duel between the armorer and his servant (1446); penance of Eleanor Cobham (1441).
- (III) Further losses in France (1450); arrest of Humphrey of Gloucester (1447); rebellion in Ireland, York regent in Ireland (1448); murder of Humphrey of Gloucester (1447); suspicion of Suffolk by the Commons (1449-50); banishment of Suffolk (1450); death of Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester (1447).
- (IV) Death of Suffolk (1450); Jack Cade's rebellion (1450); return of York from Ireland (1450), to raise an army to claim the crown (1452); death of Cade (1450); Somerset committed to the Tower at York's demand (1452).
- (V) Meeting of York and an embassy from the king near Dartford, resulting at first in submission of York; then, at the release of Somerset, in mutual accusations of treason (1452); and the outbreak of civil war (1455); Yorkist victory at the first battle of St. Albans and death of Somerset (1455).

THE THIRD PART OF HENRY THE SIXTH

Dates of the Reign: 1422-1461; 1470-1471.

Period Covered by the Play: May, 1455-May, 1471.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

- (I) Flight of King Henry from the battle of St. Albans (fictitious); assembly of Parliament (1455, 1460, combined); York sits in the chair of state (1460); York declared heir to the throne and protector of the realm (1460); outbreak of hostilities, Lancastrian victory at Wakefield, capture, humiliation, and death of York and his son Rutland (1460).
- (II) Appearance of three suns on the morning of the Yorkist victory at Mortimer's Cross (1461); Lancastrian victory at the second battle of St. Albans (1461); knighting of Edward, Prince of Wales (1461); Yorkist victory at Towton, death of Clifford, and flight of King Henry and Queen Margaret to Scotland; coronation of Edward IV (1461); proposed marriage of King Edward with Bona of France (1464); creation of Richard duke of Gloucester and George duke of Clarence (1461).
- (III) Capture and imprisonment of King Henry VI (1465); marriage of King Edward and the widow Grey [Elizabeth Woodville] (1464); Queen Margaret in France (1462, 1464-70); Warwick in France (1464); defection of Warwick (1468); defection of Clarence (1468); league with Margaret (1470); marriage of Edward, Prince of Wales, to Warwick's younger daughter [Anne] (1470); marriage of Clarence to Warwick's eldest daughter (1469).
- (IV) Capture of King Edward (1469); restoration of King Henry VI (1470); Warwick and Clarence joint protectors of the realm (1470); escape of King Edward (1470); proclamation of Edward IV (1471); reimprisonment of Henry VI (1471).
- (V) Meeting of the hosts at Coventry, reconciliation of Clarence and Edward (1471); defeat and death of Warwick the Kingmaker at Barnet (1471); defeat of Queen Margaret at Tewkesbury, death of Prince Edward (1471); murder of Henry VI (1471); restoration of Edward IV (1471).

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD

Dates of the Reign: Edward IV: 1471-83; Edward V: 1483; Richard III: 1483-85.

Period Covered by the Play: May, 1471-August, 1485.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: UNION OF THE RED ROSE AND THE WHITE ROSE.

- (I) Arrest of George, Duke of Clarence (1477) ; funeral of King Henry VI (1471) ; wooing of the Lady Anne (fictitious) ; marriage of Richard and Anne (1472) ; enmity between the queen's kindred and the king's fostered by Richard ; execution of Clarence, episode of the malmsey-butt (1478).
- (II) Attempted reconciliation of court factions by King Edward (1483) ; death of Edward IV (1483) ; Richard made protector (1483) ; public fear of political change (1483) ; capture of Prince Edward, arrest of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan (1483) ; Queen Elizabeth takes sanctuary with the Duke of York (1483).
- (III) Entrance into London of King Edward V ; York brought from sanctuary ; both lodged in the Tower ; sounding out of Hastings by Gatesby ; promise of reward to Buckingham ; execution of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan ; assembly of the lords in the Tower, episode of the strawberries ; execution of Hastings ; attainder of the princes ; Richard offered the crown (1483).
- (IV) Coronation of King Richard III (1483) ; rumor of the illness of Queen Anne (1485) ; murder of the princes in the Tower (1483) ; defection of Buckingham (1483) ; death of Queen Anne (1485) ; Richard's offer of marriage to his niece Elizabeth of York, through her mother (1485) ; capture of Buckingham (1483).
- (V) Execution of Buckingham (1483) ; expedition of Henry of Richmond (1483, 1485) ; defeat and death of King Richard at Bosworth Field (1485) ; proclamation of Henry of Richmond as King Henry VII and of his marriage to Elizabeth of York (1485).

THE FAMOUS HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF KING HENRY THE EIGHT

Dates of the Reign: 1509-47.

Period Covered by the Play: June, 1520-July, 1544.

Historical Events Treated or Alluded to in the Play: INTRIGUE AT
THE TUDOR COURT.

- (I) Meeting of King Henry VIII and Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520); enmity between the Duke of Buckingham and Cardinal Wolsey (1520); breach of peace, attachment of English goods by the French at Bordeaux (1522) visit of the Emperor Charles V to England, his bribery of Wolsey (1520); arrest of Buckingham (1521); opposition to Wolsey's tax commissions to finance the French wars (1525); intercession of Queen Katherine (unhistorical); accusation of treason against Buckingham (1521); criticism of Gallicized Englishmen (1519); revels at the Cardinal's palace in York Place (1527), meeting of Henry VIII and Anne Bullen there (unhistorical).
- (II) Trial and execution of Buckingham (1521); beginning of divorce proceedings against Katherine of Arragon (1527); Cardinal Campeius in England (1528); Anne Bullen created marchioness of Pembroke (1532); trial of Queene Katherine, her appeal to the pope (1529).
- (III) Interview of Wolsey and Campeius with Katherine (1529); dissimulation of Wolsey, displeasure of the king (1529); return of Campeius to Rome (1529); marriage of Henry and Anne (1532, according to Holinshed); Katherine named Princess Dowager as the widow of Prince Arthur (1533); Wolsey's aspirations to the papacy (1529); interception of Wolsey's papers by the king (unhistorical, but based upon a mischance that befell Thomas Ruthal, Bishop of Durham, in which Wolsey had a hand); fall of Wolsey (1529); Sir Thomas More Lord Chancellor (1529); Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury (1533).
- (IV) Coronation of Queen Anne (1533); death of Wolsey (1530); death of Queen Katherine (1536).
- (V) Conspiracy against Cranmer (1544); birth of Princess Elizabeth (1533); Cranmer's appearance before the Council (1544); baptism of Princess Elizabeth (1533).

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¹See, among others, Beverly E. Warner, *English History in Shakespeare's Plays*. New York, 1894; J. A. R. Marriot, *English History in Shakespeare*, London, 1918; E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays*, London, 1946; and Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Histories: Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy*, San Marino, 1947.

²See for example, *Shakespeare's Holinshed: The Chronicle and the Historical Plays Compared*, by W. G. Boswell-Stone, London, 1896.

"HANG UP PHILOSOPHY"*

BY THOMAS P. HARRISON, JR.

THE course of events in *Romeo and Juliet* faithfully confirms the promise of the prologue as the star-crossed lovers are borne swiftly to their doom. Reiterated emphasis through the play upon the operation of fate, a power above human control, leaves little room for doubt concerning the cause of the play's tragic issues. Professor Bradley voices the general opinion when he states that "the love of Romeo and Juliet conducts them to death only because of the senseless hatred of their houses."¹ The prominence of this motif has, however, served to obscure another, less pronounced but entirely explicit, voiced by Friar Lawrence in a philosophy which Romeo bids him hang up. The Friar's meditations about "balefull weeds and precious-juiced flowers" not only, as often remarked, dramatically anticipate the contrasting roles of sleeping potion and poison but, carried over into his interviews with Romeo, they provide a consistent commentary upon the play as a whole, a contrasting counterpart of the opening prologues. Examination of the origins of this natural philosophy, voiced on the Friar's first appearance, leads to an understanding of its significance for the play as a whole. This philosophy, a distinct entity in the play, originates in contemporary plant lore. Passages from the Latin Pliny and from the English Bartholomew demonstrate the ultimate sources of a plant philosophy which in Shakspeare's version of the Romeo story has a significant bearing upon the meaning of the play.

As he goes out to gather plants, Friar Lawrence thus dilates on the traditional relationships of men and plants (II, iii, 9-30):

The earth that's nature's mother is her tomb.
What is her burying grave, that is her womb;
And from her womb children of divers kind
We sucking on her natural bosom find,
Many for many virtues excellent,
None but for some, and yet all different.

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O, mickle is the powerful grace that lies
 In plant, herbs, stones, and their true qualities;
 For naught so vile that on the earth doth live
 But to the earth some special good doth give,
 Nor aught so good but, strain'd from that fair use,
 Revolts from true birth, stumbling on abuse.
 Virtue itself turns vice, being misapplied,
 And vice sometime's by action dignified.
 Within the infant rind of this weak flower
 Poison hath residence, and medicine power:
 For this, being smelt, with that part cheers each part;
 Being tasted, slays all senses with the heart.
 Two such opposed kings encamp them still
 In man as well as herbs, grace and rude will;
 And where the worser is predominant,
 Full soon the canker death eats up that plant.

The originality of this passage is apparent after a comparison with Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet*, where the Friar is described as follows (565 ff.):

Not as the most was he a grosse unlearned foole:
 But doctor of divinitie proceded he in schoole.
 The secretes eke he knew in natures woorkes that loorke:
 By magiks arte most men supposd that he could wonders woorked.
 Ne doth it ill besee me devines those skills to know:
 If on no harmefull deede they do such skilfulnes bestow.
 For iustly of no arte can men condemne the use:
 But right and reasons lore crye out agaynst the lewd abuse.²

And William Painter's friar declares, "I have proved the secrete properties of Stones, of Plants, Metals, and other things."³ Obviously, Shakspeare carries over the moral tone of Brooke. The heart of the later passage lies, however, in the idea of a beneficent earth who lavishes her wealth upon humanity, no plant without its divine and secret purpose, ignorance of which brings abuse and consequent disaster. Upon the exercise of grace or rude will depends man's weal or woe. Here the poet reflects the tradition, not of the Romeo legend, but of the herbal.

Implicit in every treatise upon plants, closely similar expression

to this view of the relation of plants and man is found in the *Natural History* of Pliny:

Nothing has been created by Nature without some purpose to fulfill, unrevealed to us though it may be. . . . Nature who, as we will prove beyond a doubt, has never failed in coming to the assistance of man, and has implanted remedies for our use in the most despised even of the vegetable productions, medicaments in plants which repel us with their thorns. . . . Thus we see, the very qualities even which we hold in such aversion, have been devised by Nature for the benefit and advantage of mankind. . . . Nature herself, that common parent of all things, has at once produced them, and has discovered to us their properties.

The marvelous use of deadly poisons is illustrated, Pliny continues, in the virtue of aconite as a counterpoison:

Such is the nature of this deadly plant that it kills man unless it can find in man something else to kill. . . . two poisons, each of them of a deadly nature, destroy one another within the body, and the man survives.⁴

Here Pliny gives precise and generalized expression to two ideas of the Friar: first, the earth as the kindly nurse of mankind, "eandemque omnium parentem,"⁵ and second, the usefulness of both vile and vicious plants. This latter doctrine, suggested by the virtues of the fatal aconite, is directly reflected in Shakespeare's line, never satisfactorily explained,

And vice sometime's by action dignified.

In other words, the action of vicious plants such as aconite is dignified in its use as a cure for scorpion stings.

Pliny's doctrine suggested by aconite applies generally to poisonous plants. Shakspeare's Friar now illustrates it by a description of one of the important narcotics, the mandrake:

Within the infant rind of this weak flower
Poison hath residence, and medicine power:
For this, being smelt, with that part cheers each part:
Being tasted, slays all senses with the heart.

With the Pliny doctrine cited there is no verbal similarity. The des-

cription of the mandrake in Batman's famous translation of Bartholomew suggests, however, a more intimate relationship.

And apples grow on ye leaves, as galls grow on Oken leaves, and be yeolow and sweet of smell, but with manner of heavinesse, and be fresh in savour, and accord not therefore to meat, but onely to medicine. For rindes thereof sod in Wine, cause sleepe, and abateth all maner sorenesse: and so that time a man feeleth unneath, though he bee cut. But Mandragora must be warily used; for it slayeth if men take much thereof, as he [Dioscorides] sayeth. . . . The smel of the apples is hevvy, and breedeth sleep only with smell, as he [Pliny] saith.⁶

Here the immature mandrake apple, growing in the center of the flowers or "leaves," *Shakspeare* terms the "infant rind of this weak flower." Batman describes the apples as "sweet of smell," "fresh in savour"; *Shakspeare* writes that the smell "cheers each part." Batman states that a concoction of the "rindes," unless warily used, "slayeth." *Shakspeare's* Friar more emphatically, if less exactly, states that a taste "slays all senses with the heart." In short, both dwell upon the effect of smell and taste in markedly similar language.

Thus, the Friar's dissertation reflects the general philosophy of plants as found in Pliny, including the discourse on the deadly aconite. Moreover, the Friar's major illustration closely follows Bartholomew's description of the mandrake. Nature's beneficence is easily abused through the ignorant employment of aconite or mandrake — both dangerous yet useful plants. In man rests the responsibility for the exercise of grace or rude will. These are the "two opposed kings" of the Friar's discourse. It now appears that the two crucial events of the play hinge upon the successive operation of these two herbs.

First is the sleeping potion, in which traditionally the mandrake was a major constituent; and Juliet's allusion to "mandrakes torn out of the earth" confirms the prominence of this famous herb in the poet's thought.⁷ Here the "grace" of the Friar is directed to save Juliet from the imminent marriage with Paris. *Shakspeare's* sources determine the importance of the potion in the story; the originality lies in the unifying element which links the mandrake potion with the Friar's earlier description of the nature, virtues, and danger of this plant. Mandrake is one of the cold narcotics. In this play of contrasts this plant is counterbalanced by a second poison, "hot in the fourth degree," as described by the herbalists. That this second poison,

sold by the apothecary to Romeo as the agent of his suicide, is no other than aconite, is confirmed by several passages which appear not only to identify this poison but to bear directly upon Romeo's character. Romeo asks for (V, i, 60-64):

A dram of poison, such soon-speeding gear
As will disperse itself through all the veins
That the life-weary taker may fall dead,
And that the trunk may be discharged of breath
As violently as hasty powder fir'd
Doth hurry from the fatal cannon's womb.

The traditional rapidity and violence of aconite Shakspeare in 2 *Henry IV* (IV, iv, 48) compares directly with the action of "rash gunpowder"; and this, as often noted, makes likely the same association in the present passage. But, as with the earlier mandrake passage, the Friar had anticipated the danger inherent in "rude will," one of the opposed kings, as it applied to plants. Moreover, the Friar twice compares the violence of Romeo's actions to that of gunpowder. In answer to Romeo's ironic reference to love-devouring death on the occasion of his marriage the Friar warns (II, vi, 9-11):

These violent delights have violent ends,
And in their triumph die, *like fire and powder*
Which, as they kiss, consume.

Later, as he witnesses Romeo's violation of the doctrine of moderation in attempting suicide, the Friar reproaches him in terms which recall his earlier pronouncement as well as his initial discourse (III, iii, 122ff):

Fie, fie! thou sham'st thy shape, thy love, thy wit,
Which, like a usurer, abound'st in all,
And *usest none in that true use indeed*
Which should bedeck thy shape, thy love, thy wit . . .
Thy wit, that ornament to shape and love,
Misshapen in the conduct of them both,
Like powder in a skillless soldier's flask,
Is set afire by thine own ignorance,
And thou dismember'd with thine own defence.

Here the analogy of human actions with plants bears out in repetitive terms the earlier discourse on human responsibility; and the threefold

figure of gunpowder links by association the later poison bought from the apothecary with the Friar's efforts to restrain the haste and violence of Romeo's actions. The identification of this poison as aconite is important only in so far as the passage describing it is linked with earlier ones which denote the association of Romeo's suicide with Friar Lawrence's role as expositor and exemplar of moderation. From this point of view Romeo's act is the fulfillment of the Friar's warnings, the culmination of a succession of acts in violation of an inexorable law.

"It is wrong, and not wrong, in Romeo, that, in the impetuosity of his passion he forgets" the duty of moderation.⁸ Had he been more dutiful there would have been no great tragedy, its greatness measured not in obedience to universal law but in heedless violation. Friar Lawrence and Romeo exemplify the "two opposed kings," grace and rude will. The one represents wit or knowledge in obedience to law, the other youthful feeling. Romeo confirms their incompatibility in his retort (III, iii, 64):

Thou canst not speak of that thou dost not feel:
Wert thou as young as I, Juliet thy love,
An hour but married, Tybalt murdered,
Doting like me, and like me banished,
Then mightst thou speak, then mightst thou tear thy hair,
And fall upon the ground, as I do now,
Taking the measure of an unmade grave.

The play thus ends in paradox. On the one hand the protagonists are innocent victims of an unreasoned hatred, two star-crossed lovers upon whom heaven practices stratagems; but beyond this the poet acknowledges human responsibility and in Romeo he clearly represents the consequence which hangs, not only in the stars, but in ourselves. Friar Lawrence, whose doctrine of moderation is confirmed by his plant studies, is the spokesman of this view. The full meaning of his initial discourse is thus clarified by a glance at its origins in contemporary plant lore, and only in the light of this does his relationship to Romeo become apparent. "Botany," writes Professor Dowden in this regard, "botany is not the science of human life"; and accordingly he discounts these moralisings from "the quietudes of the cloister." But these meditations are translated into an active role directing the destinies of the two lovers and interpreting their actions. For Shakspeare, as for Friar Lawrence, "men as plants increase, cheered and

check'd even by the selfsame sky" and governed by a single principle dependent upon grace or rude will. The universal validity of this philosophy, deep-rooted in the thought of the time, gives it significance beyond the mere botanizing of a cloistered priest.

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¹A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1904), p. 34.

²Ed. P. A. Daniel, *New Shakespeare Society* III (London, 1875), p. 22.

³*Ibid.*, "Rhomeo and Iulietta," p. 126.

⁴*The Natural History of Pliny*, tr. Bostock and Riley (6 vols., London, 1856), IV, pp. 389 and 395-396, and V, pp. 218-219 (Latin, Bks. XXII, 1 and 7, and XXVII, 1 and 2). Holland's translation of Pliny appeared in 1601, some years after the composition of *Romeo and Juliet*.

⁵With Shakspeare Steevens compares Lucretius, V, 259, "Omniparens eadem rerum commune sepulchrum."

⁶*Batman upon Bartholome, his Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum* (London, 1582), Bk. XVII, ch. 104, p. 305. Cf. Henry Lyte, *A New Herbal* (London, 1578), p. 438: "If one take never so little more in quantitie, then the iust proportion which he ought to take, it killeth the body."

⁷The history of the sleeping potion and its dramatic uses is the subject of a separate study, to appear.

⁸Vischer, *R. and J.*, Variorum ed., p. 150.

⁹Edward Dowden, ed. *R. and J.*, (Indianapolis, n.d.), p. xxxv.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Shakspeare Society of Philadelphia, of which our contributor on *Macbeth*, Mr. Henry N. Paul, is dean, is the oldest continuous Shakspeare Society in existence. Composed of distinguished lawyers, doctors, university professors and other professional men of the Philadelphia area, it was founded in October 1852 by four men: Messrs. Asa I. Fish, Garrick Mallery, Jr., Furman Sheppard, and Samuel C. Perkins. Subsequently the society has grown to about twenty-three members who dine fortnightly at The Philadelphia Club from October to the annual meeting on Shakspeare's birthday in April. After the dinner a play of Shakspeare's is read aloud around the table interspersed with pungent and learned comment from the dean who always excites lively discussion. In 1859-60 Dr. Horace Howard Furness, the famous editor of the Variorum Shakspeare series, became a member and subsequently served as Dean for many years and then was succeeded by his son, Horace Howard Furness, Jr., who continued the Variorum until his death in 1930. The oldest members of the present society are Dean Henry N. Paul, Judge William B. Linn of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the beloved physicians Dr. Francis R. Packard and Dr. Frederick Fraley; and Francis Fisher Kane, noted lawyer and public benefactor. Among former members in recent days the society remembers with affection James M. Beck and A. Edward Newton.

* * * *

The board of trustees of Amherst College, which administers also *The Folger Shakespeare Library*, has announced the appointment of Director Dr. Louis B. Wright to succeed the late Dr. J. Q. Adams. Dr. Wright has been serving as director of research at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The Shakespeare Association congratulates Dr. Wright on his appointment and Amherst College on its new program for encouraging research in Shakespeare's life and work, his times and associations. The Folger

endowment on June 30, 1947, had a book value of \$6,911,000 and a market value of \$8,260,000.

Students who plan to use the library should first read the brochure entitled *The Folger Shakespeare Library* so that they will understand the purposes of the foundation, the scope of the collections of books and manuscripts, and under what conditions they may be used.

* * * *

Shakspeare lovers should be sure to attend Katherine Cornell's *Antony and Cleopatra*, sumptuously staged at the Martin Beck with attractive lighting and appropriate period sets. Miss Cornell now holds the record for producing a play replete with the maturity of Shakspeare's art, but one for which there is no instance of a production in Shakspeare's life time, and only a fitful experience on the stage thereafter.

Miss Cornell has been taken to task for not portraying more effectively Cleopatra's sexual charms; but this skilled and intelligent actress knows that the Egyptian queen was not only no beauty, but relied rather upon her brains, her alluring voice, and her "infinite variety." Granville Barker observes that *Antony and Cleopatra* as Shakspeare wrote it, contrary to the general expectation, is remarkably free from reliance on sex appeal, perhaps because boy actors who took the youthful feminine roles, could hardly impersonate the tempestuous queen without destroying the romantic illusion. We observed several years ago the disastrous results when Tallulah Bankhead tried to portray Cleopatra as a luxurious siren. Katherine Cornell knows what she is about in not catering to the sex-hungry critics of Broadway.

Leonora Ulric as Charmian, Godfrey Tearle as Antony, and Kent Smith as Enobarbus give outstanding performances, and the whole cast is as competent and balanced as any theatre-goer is likely to see in his life time.

An interesting, if hardly convincing Yiddish version of the story of *The Merchant of Venice*, entitled *Shylock and his Daughter* by Ari Ibn-Azhar has been having good houses at the Yiddish Art Theatre with Lawrence Schwartz taking the lead. The play attempts to put Shylock in a better light than Shakspeare cast upon him and to redeem the wayward Jessica. A dispute as to whether Shakspeare could have seen Jewish prototypes of Shylock in London, a thesis which has been hotly debated before, calls attention to the studies by Dr. Cecil Roth and Charles J. Sisson which tend to support the affirmative. A translation by Abraham Regelson (Yiddish Art Theatre N. Y. 1947) makes an interesting study in connection with St. John Ervine's *Lady of Belmont*, 1923, the two most noted continuations of Shakspeare's play.

* * * *

The New York Shakespeare Club joins with members of The Shakespeare Association of America for the annual dinner on April 25. To be held Sunday evening at seven, the dinner will have as its Master of Ceremonies Mr. Clarence Derwent, president of *Equity*, and will be held at the National Arts Club, 15 Gramercy Park. Regular announcements will be sent to the membership, together with invitations, at an early date. June Justice is chairman, and Arthur Heine, vice-chairman.

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